

**ETHNIC DISTRIBUTIONS IN COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL KENYA**

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### Introduction

A number of authors have shown the impact of ethnicity on the political process in Africa (Ross, 1980; Tomlinson, 1982; Horowitz, 1985; Kasfir, 1986; Shaw, 1986) but there has been no comprehensive examination of ethnicity's spatial dimension in the post-colonial period. This has been partly caused by the infrequency of censuses, also the lack of comparable data from one census to the next, and the difficulty in obtaining spatial boundary information. In Kenya, for example, it has not been possible to incorporate the results of the 1969 census into this study since ethnic group definition was different in 1969 to either the 1962 or 1979 censuses (Republic of Kenya, 1964a; Republic of Kenya, 1971; Republic of Kenya, 1981a).

This study is presented in two volumes. The first examines the data sources and methodology, describes the spatial patterns and discusses the findings. The second volume is an atlas of 80 maps of ethnic distribution which have been separated from the main body of the report for ease of reference. References to Maps in the text refer to the Atlas, references to Figures relate to graphs that are found in the text.

Before proceeding further a number of definitions are necessary. The ethnic groups with which this study was concerned were the tribal and racial populations of Kenya. When enumerating, the census fieldworkers asked people to tell them their tribal or racial group:

"The census is not concerned with the legal position. Accept what the person tells you and record the tribe or nationality to which the person considers he or she belongs" (Republic of Kenya, 1981a, p.20).

The subsequent aggregate information therefore accords well with the following definition of an ethnic group:

"A term referring to the vertical divisions in a society where a group, which is part of a larger population, possesses a distinct culture of its own. The members of such a group feel a common origin, real or imaginary, and are frequently set apart by race, religion or national origin, or some combination of these. The existence of such ethnic groups has been determined in large part by migration, and the processes of assimilation and integration are closely connected with the distinctiveness and persistence of ethnic ties" (Goodall, 1987, p.160).

The spatial distribution of the ethnic groups refers to their presence in the rural areas and urban centres of the country. The Kenyan government uses a population size criterion, 2 000 people, to differentiate between urban centres, which have at least this number of people, and rural settlements which have fewer than 2 000 people. Although the criterion of 2 000 people is low, it does exclude from the urban population a number of people in the small trading centres whose functions were undoubtedly urban as their occupation was trade. This point will be mentioned again later.

The sections which follow will examine the nature of the data sources and describe the methodology adopted. The main body of the report is an assessment of national, regional, rural and urban distributions

in the light of the constraining and enabling forces of settlement in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The final section is a brief discussion of the applicability of the findings to South Africa.

### **Data Sources**

There were two main sources of comparable published census data: the volumes of statistics for the 1962 and 1979 population censuses (Republic of Kenya, 1964a; Republic of Kenya, 1964b; Republic of Kenya, 1965; Republic of Kenya, 1966a; Republic of Kenya, 1966b; Republic of Kenya, 1981a; Republic of Kenya, 1981b). The volumes of the 1962 census contain ethnic information at a very fine spatial scale. In the black areas at the level of the Location and in the white areas at the equivalent scale of County Council Wards. The areal extent of most of the Locations and Wards can be traced in Appendices B1 to B8 of Morgan and Shaffer (1966). Ethnic data for the urban centres were collated by Dr. W.T.W. Morgan from the information contained in the census volumes to which he added information communicated to him by the Kenyan Central Bureau of Statistics in the early 1960's. Dr. Morgan's unpublished data was made available for this research project.

The volumes of the 1979 census give ethnic information at a much coarser spatial scale. The data from the rural Locations being aggregated together and published at the scale of the Administrative District (shown on Maps 1 and 2). Urban ethnic data was only published for the two main municipalities of Nairobi and Mombasa. Fortunately, unpublished data for the other urban centres (shown on Maps 3 and 4) was made available to me by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Detailed maps of the rural and urban census tracts were also provided by the Survey Department.

Directly comparable data were essential to the objective of assessing how ethnic distributions changed. Thus the configuration of the areal units had to be the same for 1962 and 1979 as did the definitions of the ethnic groups. Such comparison was made possible by aggregating some of the spatial information and by combining some of the ethnic data.

Kenya's administrative structure is based on areal units of progressively smaller sizes. The Districts and Provinces Bill of 1968 divided the country into seven Provinces and 41 Districts. Each District being further subdivided into Divisions, Locations and sub-Locations. The 1979 data was only available at the coarse resolution of the Administrative District whilst the 1962 data was at the much smaller scale of the Location or County Council Ward. This was fortuitous because it meant that the post 1968 District delimitation could be replicated for 1962 through the re-aggregation of Locations and Wards. A direct comparison was facilitated for most of the rural areas, but there were one or two problem areas.

For two-thirds of the Districts, 27 in all, the areal extents were made to correspond exactly between 1962 and 1979. Seven Districts had boundaries which split one of the 1962 Locations and, where this happened, the populations were split between the two Districts in proportion to the areal division. A similar problem was encountered with the population enumerated in the Mt. Kenya Forest portion of Embu District. This had to be divided between Embu and Kirinyaga Districts. More problematic were some of the boundary definitions in the remote northern and eastern Districts for which no areal boundary information was

available below the District level in 1962. The boundaries concerned lay between Turkana and West Pokot Districts, and Kitui, Tana River and Garissa Districts. No attempt could be made to reconstitute the 1962 figures and so it is likely that the gross number of people in Garissa and Turkana were inflated whilst those for Kitui, Tana River and West Pokot were deflated. The extent of the gross error is unlikely to be high given the low population densities of these areas (Maps 5, 6) but the movement of the groups affected has to be treated with some circumspection in later sections.

The urban centres were also affected by boundary adjustments between 1962 and 1979. It was possible to make the areal extents of the two largest and most important cities, Nairobi and Mombasa, identical for the two dates. However, the boundaries of a number of regional urban centres were extended in the 1970's way beyond their 1962 limits to include population that was largely rural. The centres affected most were Kisumu, Machakos, and Meru; to a lesser extent this also applied to Kakamega, Nyeri and Kisii. Lack of boundary information for one date or the other meant that adjustment was not possible for these centres. The problem therefore arises that in 1979 there would be over-representation of the ethnic group of the surrounding rural area. Again this is a problem area for interpretation of ethnic representation which will be dealt with in subsequent sections. The boundaries of the remaining urban centres either remained identical over the period or were extended realistically as the urban centre grew. One final urban boundary problem concerned the inaccurate delimitation of boundaries in the Districts of Mandera, Wajir and Garissa in 1979. The Survey Department revealed that no maps were used by the census fieldworkers who enumerated the populations of the towns of Mandera, Wajir and Garissa. These urban centres and rural districts were therefore excluded from the 1979 analysis.

It was possible to check the overall accuracy of the re-aggregation process through comparison of the recalculated figures of each ethnic group to the published totals for 1962. Initially, both double counting and omission was revealed and this is perhaps not surprising as this was a lengthy manual operation. A second run through of the re-aggregated data eliminated most, but not all, of these errors. The data in Table 1 show that only two of the ethnic groups had errors of any appreciable size: the Kikuyu and Not Stated categories. The Not Stated error was not really a problem since the information in this category was of little intrinsic use to the study. Even though the overcount of 5 347 Kikuyu was a very small proportion of their total, 0.3 percent, a third run through of their data was undertaken. No further discrepancies were found and it was decided to proceed with the analysis as 5 347 rural Kikuyu would not significantly affect their distribution patterns at District level.

The ethnic categories used in the two censuses also provided problems since some groups were enumerated as separate 'tribes' in one census and subsequently aggregated together with other 'tribes'. Comparison between the two dates was possible, however, given the loss of some of the detailed information. Table 2 shows which ethnic groups were affected: the larger groups were the Kalenjin, Somali, Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Europeans and Kenyan Arabs. For the Kalenjin, the 1962 data for the Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Elgeyo, Pokot, Marakwet, Sabaot and 'Kalenjin so stated' were added together to form a single Kalenjin category. This follows the 1962 census (Republic of Kenya, 1964a) which defines all of these groups

as Kalenjin speaking. The Somali data was treated similarly by adding together the data for the Eastern-Hamitic, Somali speaking tribes: Gosha, Hawiyah, Ogaden, Ajuran, Gurreh, Degodia, 'other Somali'. The three non-black race groups of Asians, Arabs and Europeans also had this problem and so Kenyan Asian and Asian, Kenyan Arab and Arab, Kenyan European and European were each added together.

Table 1. Comparison of 1962 published and re-aggregated figures.

ETHNIC GROUP	PUBLISHED TOTAL	RE-AGGREGATED TOTAL	ERROR
Kikuyu	1 022 065	1 047 412	+25347
Embu	95 647	95 647	
Meru	439 921	439 923	+2
Mbera	38 172	38 172	
Kamba	933 219	933 208	-11
Tharaka	38 474	38 474	
Luhya	1 086 409	1 086 391	-18
Kisii	538 343	538 338	-5
Kuria	41 885	41 885	
Mijikenda	414 887	414 876	-11
Pokomo	30 350	30 352	+2
Taita	83 613	83 612	-1
Taveta	4 855	4 855	
Swahili/Shirazi	8 657	8 657	
Bajun	11 280	11 280	
Boni/Sanya	4 797	4 797	
Luo	1 148 335	1 148 309	-26
Kalenjin	898 244	898 177	-67
Masai	154 079	154 079	
Samburu	48 750	48 750	
Turkana	181 387	181 387	
Iteso	72 357	72 357	
Nderobo	14 378	14 377	-1
Njemps	4 681	4 681	
Rendille	13 724	13 724	
Boran	58 346	58 346	
Gabbra	11 478	11 478	
Sakuye	1 681	1 681	
Orma	11 646	11 646	
Somali	275 241	275 249	+8
Africans	47 872	47 857	-15
Asians	176 613	176 299	-314
Europeans	55 759	55 753	-6
Arabs	34 048	34 047	-1
Others	3 901	3 903	+2
Not Stated	11 169	3 597	-7572
In Transit	2 325	2 325	
Total	8 638 588	8 635 921	-2667

Table 2. Enumeration of ethnic groups, 1962 and 1979.

ETHNIC GROUP	1962 RURAL	1962 URBAN	1979 RURAL	1979 URBAN
Kikuyu	+	+	+	+
Embu	+	+	+	+
Meru	+	+	+	+
Mbere	+	+	+	+
Kamba	+	+	+	+
Tharaka	+	+	+	+
Luhya	+	+	+	+
Kisii	+	+	+	+
Kuria	+	+	+	+
Mijikenda	+	+	+	+
Pokomo	+	+	+	+
Taita	+	+	+	+
Taveta	+	+	+	+
Swahili/Shirazi	+	+	+	+
Bajun	+	+	+	+
Boni/Sanye	+	+	+	+
Luo	+	+	+	+
Kalenjin <sup>1</sup>	-	-	+	+
Kipsigis	+	+	-	-
Nandi	+	+	-	-
Tugen	+	+	-	-
Elgeyo	+	+	-	-
Pokot	+	+	-	-
Marakwet	+	+	-	-
Sabaot	+	+	-	-
Masai	+	+	+	+
Samburu	+	+	+	+
Turkana	+	+	+	+
Iteso	+	+	+	+
Nderobo	+	+	+	+
Njemps	+	+	+	+
Rendille	+	+	+	+
Boran	+	+	+	+
Gabbra	+	+	+	+
Sakuye	+	+	+	+
Orma	+	+	+	+
Somali <sup>2</sup>	-	-	+	+
Gosha	+	-	+	+
Hawiyah	+	-	+	+
Ogaden	+	-	+	+
Ajuran	+	-	+	+
Gurreh	+	-	+	+
Degodia	+	-	+	+
Basuba <sup>3</sup>	-	-	+	+
El Molo <sup>4</sup>	-	-	+	+
Asians	+	+	+	+
Kenyan Asians	-	-	+	+
Europeans	+	+	+	+
Kenyan Europeans	-	-	+	+

ETHNIC GROUP	1962 RURAL	1962 URBAN	1979 RURAL	1979 URBAN
Arabs	+	+	+	+
Kenyan Arabs	-	-	+	+
Other Kenyan <sup>5</sup>	-	-	+	+
Africans <sup>6</sup>	-	-	+	+
Others	-	-	+	+
Not Stated	-	-	+	+

+ Enumerated.

- not enumerated.

<sup>1</sup> Defined as 'Kalenjin so stated' or 'other Kalenjin' in 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Defined as 'other Somali' in 1962.

<sup>3</sup> Probably enumerated as Luo in 1962.

<sup>4</sup> Either enumerated as Turkana or not enumerated at all in 1962.

<sup>5</sup> Defined as 'other non-Africans' in 1962.

<sup>6</sup> These were non-Kenyan Africans from Sudan, Uganda etc.

In summary, there were a number of problems concerned with undertaking this analysis. Most of the boundary adjustments and ethnic definitions could be overcome but there were instances where the assessment and interpretation of certain groups in certain geographical areas had to be undertaken with circumspection.

### Methodology

Once the raw data had been made comparable spatially and ethnically it was input as computer spreadsheets and checked for errors in data entry. Three first-order spreadsheets were input for 1962 and three for 1979. The 1962 spreadsheets were the number of each ethnic group in the 35 urban centres, 39 rural districts and 41 Administrative Districts. The Administrative District figure was the result of adding the rural figure to the figures for the urban centres, if any, in that District. The 1979 spreadsheets had the same information but the number of urban centres had increased to 77. From the first order spreadsheets were calculated percentages of each ethnic group in each urban centre, rural area and Administrative District. These second order spreadsheets were input to a Geographical Information System (G.I.S), PCArcInfo, so that maps could be produced of the spatial distribution of each ethnic group. These maps are contained in the atlas. Third-order spreadsheets were created to ascertain the degree of ethnic concentration in each rural and urban area. The concentration indices were also input to the G.I.S., for analysis and mapping.

The concentration index used in the analysis is a Gini Coefficient slightly modified to suit the purposes of this study (Massey and Denton, 1988). The index gives a result which ranges from 0 to 100, from the perfectly even distribution of all groups in each area to total dominance by one group in an area. The concentration index was calculated as follows. Firstly, the percentages of the ethnic groups were ranked for each rural or urban area and cumulative percentages were calculated. Secondly, the actual cumulative percentages were subtracted from the hypothetical cumulative percentages that would have arisen if there was perfectly equal representation of each group in that area. For example, if there were 20 ethnic groups each would account for 5 percent of the total and cumulative percents would rise 5, 10, 15 etc. Thirdly, the differences between the actual and equal representation cumulative percentages were calculated and

summed. Finally, the summed difference was expressed as a proportion of the figure that was calculated for the difference between cumulative percents of perfectly equal dispersion and total concentration.

### National Patterns

The data in Tables 3 and 4 show the total size of the different ethnic groups, urban numbers, urban percents, and the increase or decrease in total numbers and percent urban. Three national trends provide the backdrop against which these data can be assessed. Firstly, Kenya's extremely high population growth rate can be seen from the fact that the total population almost doubled over the 17 year period (Table 3). Maps 5, 6, and 7 show that this resulted in substantive increases of rural population density in the fertile highland and midland cultivation zones. Secondly, the rate of urbanisation was greater than the total population growth rate; the urban population trebled between 1962 and 1979. Thirdly, Kenya was a very weakly urbanised country. In 1962 only 8.35 percent of the population lived in urban centres, by 1979 this figure had risen to 14.28. The spread of urban centres, particularly in the highland core, can be seen in Map 8.

Table 3. Ethnic population totals 1962 and 1979.

ETHNIC GROUP	1962 TOTAL	1979 TOTAL	1962 URBAN	1979 URBAN
Kikuyu	1 647 412	3 200 967	158 011	528 691
Luo	1 148 309	1 954 677	64 418	404 257
Luhya	1 086 391	2 118 786	65 542	313 389
Kamba	933 208	1 723 734	62 815	261 146
Kalenjin	898 177	1 651 939	10 487	53 401
Kisii	538 338	943 836	4 235	55 070
Meru	439 923	839 983	5 263	87 837
Mijikenda	414 876	732 629	46 119	117 403
Somali <sup>1</sup>	275 249	382 916	5 254	
Turkana	181 387	207 169	4 541	18 776
Asians	176 299	78 479	165 478	73 982
Masai	154 079	241 338	1 685	9 634
Embu	95 647	180 276	5 780	17 194
Taita	83 612	153 009	11 573	36 866
Iteso	72 357	132 398	992	6 072
Boran	58 346	67 927	1 334	19 433
Europeans	55 773	39 722	41 525	31 676
Samburu	48 750	73 561	321	10 047
Africans	47 857	71 400	24 510	39 970
Kuria	41 885	89 139	845	3 034
Tharaka	38 474	9 622	294	532
Mbere	38 172	61 687	410	864
Arabs	34 047	37 786	26 067	32 837
Pokomo	30 352	39 514	1 516	7 653
Nderobo	14 377	7 126	58	367
Rendille	13 724	21 656	259	3 456
Orma	11 646	32 055	150	643
Gabbra	11 478	24 067	67	1 755
Bajun	11 280	36 888	1 690	17 820
Swahili	8 657	5 634	4 311	3 284
Taveta	4 855	7 632	155	984



ETHNIC GROUP	1962 TOTAL	1979 TOTAL	1962 URBAN	1979 URBAN
Boni	4 797	4 167	116	483
Njemps	4 681	7 482	17	134
Others	3 903	10 144	3 468	7 373
Not Stated	3 597	341	1 896	56
Sakuye	1 681	1 669	90	385
Other Kenyan <sup>2</sup>		30 827		14 490
El Molo <sup>3</sup>		462		19
Basuba <sup>4</sup>		59 593		648
Total	8 633 596	15 282 237	721 292	2 181 661

<sup>1</sup> Urban boundary definition unreliable in 1979 for the three concentrations of Somali in the urban centres of Wajir, Garissa and Mandera.

<sup>2</sup> Enumerated as 'others' in 1962.

<sup>3</sup> Either enumerated as Turkana or not enumerated at all in 1962.

<sup>4</sup> Probably enumerated as Luo in 1962.

Table 4. Urban percentages, population and urbanisation changes 1962 and 1979.

ETHNIC GROUP	1962 URBAN	1979 URBAN	POP. CHANGE	URB. CHANGE
Kikuyu	9,59%	16,52%	1,94	1,72
Luo	5,61%	20,68%	1,70	3,69
Luhya	6,03%	14,79%	1,95	2,45
Kamba	6,73%	15,15%	1,85	2,25
Kalenjin	1,17%	3,23%	1,84	2,77
Kisii	0,79%	5,83%	1,75	7,42
Meru	1,20%	10,46%	1,91	8,74
Mijikenda	11,12%	16,02%	1,77	1,44
Somali	1,91%		1,39	
Turkana	2,50%	9,06%	1,14	3,62
Asians	93,86%	94,27%	0,45	1,00
Masai	1,09%	3,99%	1,57	3,65
Embu	6,04%	9,54%	1,88	1,58
Taita	13,84%	24,09%	1,83	1,74
Iteso	1,37%	4,59%	1,83	3,35
Boran	2,29%	28,61%	1,16	12,51
Europeans	74,45%	79,74%	0,71	1,07
Samburu	0,66%	13,66%	1,51	20,74
Africans	51,22%	55,98%	1,49	1,09
Kuria	2,02%	3,40%	2,13	1,69
Tharaka	0,76%	5,53%	0,25	7,24
Mbere	1,07%	1,40%	1,62	1,30
Arabs	76,56%	86,90%	1,11	1,14
Pokomo	4,99%	19,37%	1,30	3,88
Nderobo	0,40%	5,15%	0,50	12,77
Rendille	1,89%	15,96%	1,58	8,46
Orma	1,29%	2,01%	2,75	1,56
Gabbra	0,58%	7,29%	2,10	12,49
Bajun	14,98%	48,31%	3,27	3,22
Swahili	49,80%	58,29%	0,65	1,17
Taveta	3,19%	12,89%	1,57	4,04
Boni	2,42%	11,59%	0,87	4,79
Njemps	0,36%	1,79%	1,60	4,93

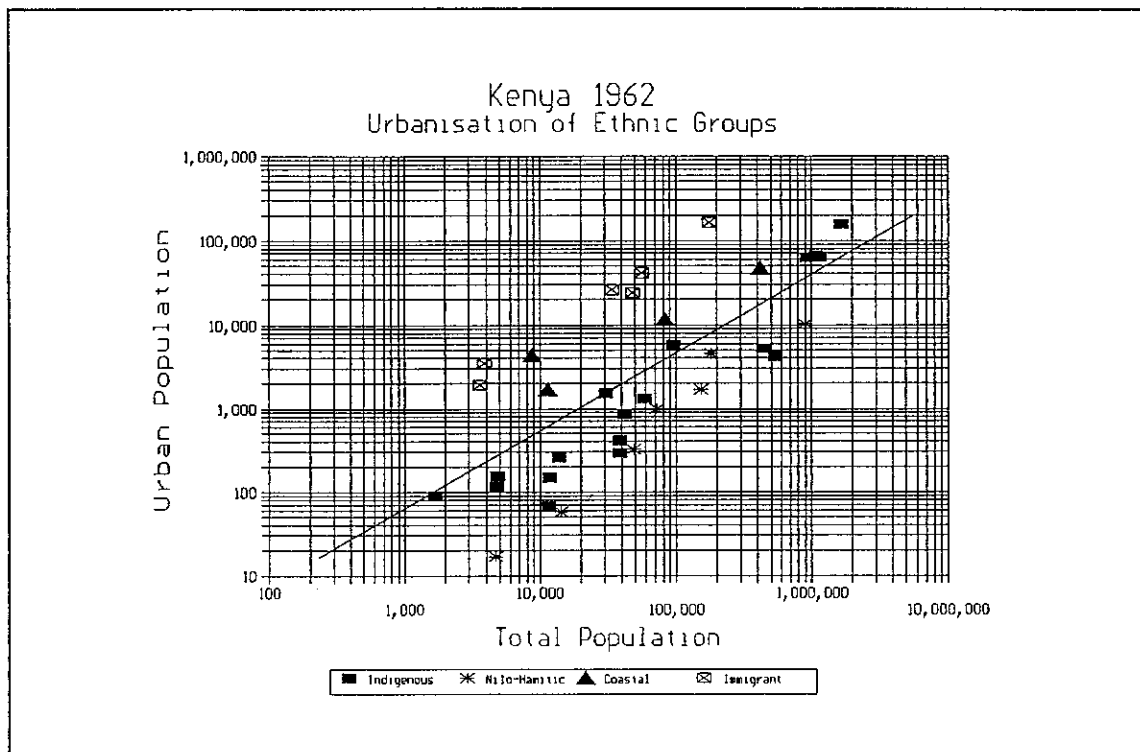
ETHNIC GROUP	1962 URBAN	1979 URBAN	POP. CHANGE	URB. CHANGE
Others	88,85%	72,68%	2,60	0,82
Not Stated	52,71%	16,42%	0,09	0,31
Sakuye	5,35%	23,07%	0,99	4,31
Other Kenyans		47,00%		
El Molo		4,11%		
Basuba		1,09%		
Groups' Average	16,63%	22,32%	1,52	4,43
National Average	8,35%	14,28%	1,77	3,03

The ethnic groups of the country were dominated by the five major indigenous tribes: the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba and Kalenjin. In 1962 these five accounted for 66 percent and in 1979 for 70 percent of the total population of the country. In 1962 the remaining 34 groups ranged in size from slightly over half a million to just over 1 000 persons. The two major colonial immigrant communities, the Europeans and Asians, were relatively insignificant numerically with 55 753 and 176 299 persons respectively. The other immigrant communities were even smaller: non-Kenyan Africans at 47 857, Arabs at 34 047 and other non-Kenyans at 3 903. A significant feature of the immigrant communities was their very high degree of urbanisation: Asians 93,86 percent, other non-Kenyans 88,85, Arabs 76,56, Europeans 74,45, non-Kenyan Africans 51,22. Interestingly, the other groups with higher than average urbanisation were the larger indigenous ethnic communities of the coastal region: Swahili at 49,80 percent, Bajun 14,98, Taita 13,84 and Mijikenda 11.12. The up-country indigenous groups were overwhelmingly rural, only 17 Njemps were urban in 1962, even the larger groups, such as the half-million Kisii, had rates below 1 percent.

By 1979 there had been some notable modifications to this scenario. Firstly, there was a marked increase in the overall levels of urbanisation, especially for four of the five major indigenous groups: the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kamba (Table 4). It will be shown later that this was, in part, due to the growth of small urban centres in their rural majority areas. Their percentages ranged from 14,79 to 20,68, all above the national average of 14,28. Secondly, the two major colonial groups declined in size: Asians by more than a half from 176 299 to 78 479 and Europeans from 55 773 to 39 722.

Figures 1 and 2 express the relationship between urbanisation and total population for 1962 and 1979. In both diagrams the regression line between the two variables has been plotted to show the average relationship between urban and total population. Ethnic groups lying above the regression line have higher than average urbanisation and vice versa.

In 1962, Figure 1, a number of the features mentioned above were clearly visible. The immigrant and coastal ethnic groups were placed above the regression line, the indigenous 'up-country' groups were found below the line. One further feature is portrayed on Figure 1, the low level of urbanisation of the Nilo-Hamitic groups which occurred regardless of their population size. Their urbanisation was generally below that of the Bantu and Luo agriculturalists and the Hamitic pastoralists. The strong positive nature of the relationship between urbanisation and total population can be gauged from the correlation coefficient of 0,74.



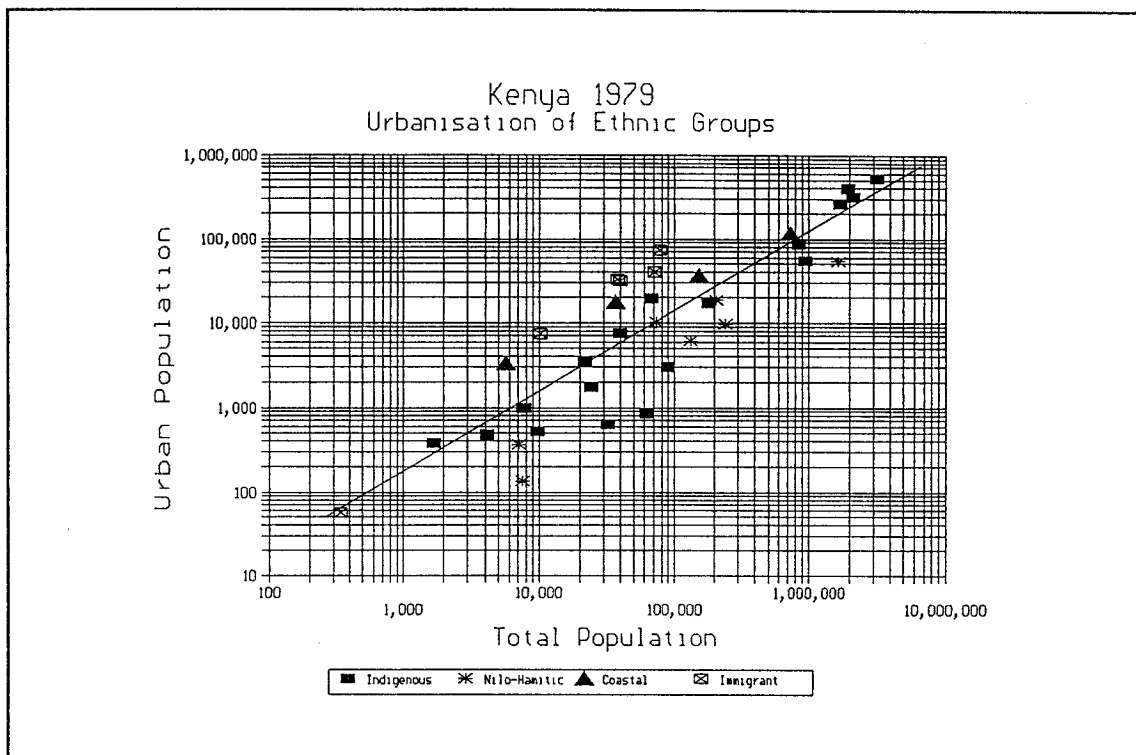
**Figure 1. Relationship between population size and urbanisation, ethnic groups 1962.**

By 1979 the relationship between the two variables was stronger, 0,88, and this can be appreciated in Figure 2 where the scatter of points is much closer to the regression line. The trends described above for 1962 were still apparent but they were less marked. Both the coastal and the Nilo-Hamitic groups had moved closer to the regression line since their rates of urbanisation were respectively lower and higher than the average. The 'immigrant' non-black communities still had the highest rates of urbanisation but there was less of a gap between them and the other groups. One possible reason for the shifts in urbanisation could have been that they were related to increases or decreases in total population. A correlation between population growth rates and urbanisation growth rates gave the very low figure of -0,09. This indicates that there was no such simple reason for the changes in urbanisation rates between 1962 and 1979.

### Settlement Processes

Before discussing the rural and urban distributions for 1962 and 1979 the principal processes which affected settlement need to be examined. These processes were the colonial division of space (Map 9), which legislated land-ownership to different racial and tribal groups, and the processes of land consolidation and resettlement (Map 10) which date from the late colonial period.

Sir Morris Carter's *Kenya Land Commission Report* of 1932 and 1933 (HMSO, 1934) was responsible for formalising land ownership patterns in early colonial Kenya. Three types of land use were envisaged by the



**Figure 2. Relationship between population size and urbanisation, ethnic groups 1979.**

colonial authorities (Brown, 1962): Alienated Land, Native Land Units and other land reserved for tribal use, Crown Land (Map 9). The Alienated Land was mainly reserved for European use, particularly in the 'White Highlands', although there was also limited ownership by Asians and Arabs, especially along the coast. National Forests, National Parks, 'mountains and craters' were also usually aggregated into this category. The densely settled Native Land Units were clustered around the Highland core of the country and acted as labour reserves. They were subdivided such that there was one Land Unit for each major tribe or group of tribes. The nine Land Units were, from West to East: the Kavirondo Native Land Unit, Nandi Native Land Unit, Lumbwa Native Land Unit, Kerio Native Land Unit, Kikuyu Native Land Unit, Masai Native Land Unit, Kamba Native Land Unit, North Pokomo Native Land Unit and Coast Native Land Unit. Adjacent to these Units were the Native Reserves, Temporary Reserves, Native Settlement Areas and Native Leasehold Areas that were Crown Land which had been demarcated for the use of African tribes. The pastoralists of the North and East of the country, in the Northern Frontier Province, also had priority of use on the Crown Lands of the region. In practice no-one but an African was supposed to own or occupy this Crown Land. Finally, there was the Crown Land in areas other than the Northern Frontier Province which was theoretically open to occupation by any race.

The major constraints which the colonial division of land instigated were in the ownership of land. The black population could not purchase land either in the rural alienated areas or the urban centres; urban townships were Crown Land. Thus their populations can be expected to lie in the Land Units and those

urban centres to which they migrated as labour. In the alienated areas they also lived as squatters on the white farms. The immigrant communities should have been distributed inversely to the black population. Rural distributions should find Europeans and a few Asians restricted to the 'White Highlands'; Arabs and Asians at the coast. The urban centres were the other foci for Europeans, Asians and Arabs. In the colonial period urban centres were set up along the line of rail to facilitate the workings of the settler economy. In the Land Units their function was administration, control and development. The coastal urban centres were very much older and reflect the trade between East Africa and the Indian Ocean rim which has been practised for more than a thousand years.

The Native Land Units were subject to various plans for agricultural development from 1946 onwards. These plans affected both settlement distributions and patterns of urbanisation. In 1946 the African Land Development Organisation (ALDEV) started programmes which sought new land to settle, thus impacting on ethnic distributions, and experimented with reconditioning techniques to tackle what ALDEV saw as agricultural mismanagement (Ministry of Agriculture, 1962; Odingo, 1971). The location of ALDEV schemes was in the Native Land Units (Map 10). In 1955 implementation of the Swynnerton Plan was started in the Kikuyu Native Land Unit. The Swynnerton Plan consolidated fragmented land holdings in the high potential agricultural areas, initially in Kikuyu areas but later across the whole country, and set up credit facilities, extension services, etc., in order to modernise African agriculture. The Plan succeeded in creating a commercially viable small-scale farming sector but one of its major by-products was to deny people access to land, which had been limited previously, and thus induce migration either to the alienated farming areas or the urban centres, many of which developed in the newly consolidated areas (Fox, 1991). Map 10 shows the location of the ALDEV schemes that involved resettlement and the areas of consolidated land.

The alienated 'White Highlands' were opened up to farming by all races in 1960 and resettlement schemes were instigated to relieve some of the land hunger being experienced by the major African tribes (Leo, 1984). These resettlement schemes are also shown in Map 10. The interesting feature about the resettlement schemes is the way in which they were linked in with the aims of the 1962 Regional Boundaries Commission. The Commission endeavored to make the country ethnically harmonious by a process of separation and amalgamation. Administrative Districts were designed to be either ethnically homogenous or they were to consist of two or more groups that could co-exist harmoniously. Furthermore, Administrative Districts were grouped into Provinces that would also be harmonious and co-operative (Fox, 1988).

"From the considerable volume of evidence we received, oral and documentary, it is clearly established that there is a compelling and sincere desire on the part of many of the peoples of Kenya to be associated in a region and not with others. That is the truth, and it could only be by a process of wishful thinking that a contrary conclusion could be reached" (Forster Sutton *et al*, 1962, p.5).

The problem which the Commission had lay in what to do with the alienated regions which were ethnically more mixed for reasons mentioned previously. Their solution was to draw new boundaries to

**Table 5. Classification of Ethnic Groups by position in the space-economy.**

POSITION	MAJOR MULTI-DISTRICT GROUP	MAJOR SINGLE-DISTRICT GROUP	SUB-DOMINANT MINOR (5-49%) GROUP	MINOR (<5%) GROUP
Core and/or Inner Periphery	Kikuyu Luhya	Embu Meru Kisii	Mbere Tharaka Nderobo Africans	Njemps Sakuye Asians Europeans Others Not Stated
Core and/or Inner Periphery and/or Outer Periphery	Luo Kamba Mijikenda Kalenjin			
Outer Periphery and/or Arid	Masai	Pokomo Taita Bajun Boran	Kuria, Taveta, Teso, Boni, Gabbra, Swahili, Orma, Arabs	
Arid	Somali	Samburu Turkana Rendille		

#### **Rural Distributions 1962**

The classification scheme was used to arrange the analysis of rural distributions. Maps 13 to 77 vividly show the mosaic of rural occupance to be one of marked concentration. Each ethnic group was primarily located either in one or in several adjacent districts. There are very few maps with any of the blue, intermediate level, shading, virtually all of the maps are red and green denoting high, usually very high, and low, usually very low, percents of occupance.

Three of the multi-district major ethnic groups displayed a gradient of occupance from over 50 percent through 10-49 percent down to the <10 percent category (Maps 13, 15, 17). These three were adjacent to the colonial 'White Highlands', particularly its Rift Valley section. The Kikuyu and Kalenjin occupied the eastern and western flanks of the Rift Valley, the Luhya were located immediately to the West of the former 'White Highland' Districts of Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia. The other three main groups adjacent to the Highlands did not display this type of gradient. The Luo, Kamba and Masai (Maps 19, 21, 23) were only found as small percents, 1-9.9 percent, in the former Highland districts. Of the two other multi-district ethnic groups, the Mijikenda of the coast and Somali of the arid north-east (Maps 25 and 27), only the Mijikenda displayed any lower scale occupance away from their rural majority area.

The three single-district majors of the Highland core had very similar distribution patterns to the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin group. Maps 29, 31 and 33 show that there was a slight, but distinct, gradient moving away from their rural majority area. The gradient was only in one direction: the Kisii (Map 29) eastwards to the

former Highland areas, the Meru (Map 31) westwards to the former Highland areas, the Embu (Map 33) westwards into the former Kikuyu Native Land Unit.

In contrast, the coastal Pokomo, Taita and Bajun (Maps 35, 37, 39) have Districts of no occupancy adjacent to their rural majority area. The reason for this was the highly localised settlement of each group in fertile zones: the Pokomo along the Tana River, Taita on the Taita Hills and Bajun in the Lamu Archipelago. The remainder of these, and adjacent, Districts being arid or semi-arid areas devoted to nomadic pastoralism and lowland ranching (Map 7).

The distributions of the four single district majors of the arid north bring out the importance of communication routes. Both the Turkana and Samburu (Maps 41 and 43) were centred in one District with evidence of occupancy in Districts to their south. Map 11 shows the transport arteries and stock routes of the mid-1960's; the relationship between these routes and the presence of nomadic pastoralists is clear. West Pokot, Trans Nzoia and Laikipia were the Districts through which the Turkana and Samburu passed. The Rendille (Map 45) were far more isolated in the far North, but again they were to be found along the main stock and communication routes in West Pokot, Nakuru and Laikipia. The Boran (Map 47) were found mainly in Isiolo District: the funnel for stock movements from the North and north-east. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Boran were found further North and East along these routes in the Districts of Marsabit and Wajir.

The minor groups had a far more limited presence in any of the rural Districts. They were to be found in percentages from 1 to 49 and were often spread across two adjacent Districts. The Nderobo and Tharaka (Maps 49 and 51) were typical of the latter condition; a group occupying a definite ecological niche in two Districts. The Nderobo were found in, or adjacent, to the montane forests of Nakuru and Laikipia, the Tharaka in the semi-arid zone on either side of the Tana River which separates Meru and Kitui Districts. The Mbere were another group found in the marginal cultivation zone along the Tana River. They were located in Embu District (Map 53) adjacent to the Tharaka of Meru District.

There were three minor groups with significant intermediate numbers: the Iteso of western Kenya (Map 55), the Orma of coastal Tana River District (Map 57), the Gabbra of the arid North (Map 59). Each of these resided in Districts dominated by much larger groups. Presumably, they were either happy with this arrangement, and had indicated this to the Regional Boundaries Commission, or they had little chance of affecting the *status quo*. The Iteso were a case of the latter, a Nilo-Hamitic group who would have preferred to be linked with the Kalenjin and Masai of the Rift Valley. Unfortunately for them, they were deemed too distant from their fellow Nilo-Hamites by the Regional Boundaries Commission and so were never amalgamated (Forster-Sutton *et al* 1962). The remaining minor groups were often located in marginal areas of peripheral Districts. The Kuria were found in South Nyanza (Map 61), the Taveta, Swahili and Boni in the coastal region (Maps 63, 65, 67), the Njemps in Baringo District (Map 69), and the Sakuye in remote Wajir District (Map 71).

Finally, the three 'immigrant' non-black groups have yet to be described. The Europeans were found in low percentages in four of the core, former 'White Highlands', Districts: Trans Nzoia, Laikipia, Nyandarua

and Nakuru (Map 73). Asians (Map 75) were found in low percentages across almost the entire country. This unique distribution pattern reflects Asian presence in every small trading centre, it is not a rural distribution. The Arabs were found in their coastal cultural core, particularly Lamu District (Map 77), where they owned or occupied much freehold land.

#### **Changes in Rural Distributions 1962-1979**

A good deal of planned resettlement took place in the former 'White Highlands'; this was described previously. Some groups benefitted more than others from resettlement and some notable shifting into, and out of, Districts occurred. Outward shifts were usually in response to the containment of 'friendly' groups in each Province.

The Kikuyu, Luhya and Kalenjin moved into the five former 'White Highlands' Districts. The Kikuyu increased their presence in Nyandarua District as they were settled on the major resettlement schemes of the Kinangop Plateau (Leo, 1984), see Map 13. The Kikuyu also reduced their occupance in Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu; the two Districts furthest from their rural heartland in the former Kikuyu Native Land Unit. The Luhya moved into Trans Nzoia (Map 15) and the Kalenjin into Uasin Gishu (Map 17) as the Kikuyu moved out. A further compensatory shift occurred as the Kalenjin withdrew from Kikuyu-dominated Laikipia.

Settlement was also the result of purchase and leasing of land from another group. The Kalenjin and Kikuyu, in particular, took up land in the Masai Districts of Narok and Kajiado. The Masai could have been expected to move back into Nakuru District, Laikipia, and Uasin Gishu since these were all areas they had occupied before the colonial period (Morgan, 1963). Map 23 reveals that they did not do this; their territory was, in fact, being taken up by their agricultural neighbours, the Kikuyu, Kalenjin, and, to a lesser extent, the Luo and Kamba (Maps 19 and 21). One other feature of the Masai distribution was its much greater extent. Masai were present almost throughout the country, albeit in small numbers, as they had percolated along the communication and stock networks. The lifting of quarantine restrictions played a major role in this distribution, and that of many other nomadic pastoralists.

The Kamba (Map 21) did not move into adjacent Highland areas and neither did the Luo (Map 19). The nearest formerly alienated areas (Map 9) were, in fact, split between the former Kamba Native Land Unit and Kikuyu Native Land Unit. The Kamba also moved down to the Shimba Hills in coastal Kwale District; thus continuing the movement initially instigated under the ALDEV scheme of the 1950's. The other main up-country-coastal move of this type was of Kikuyu down to the Lake Kenyatta resettlement scheme in Lamu District (Map 13). The Luo were the group who did not really benefit from the opening up of the alienated areas. Although they did increase their presence in the corridor of formerly alienated land to the East of Kisumu (Maps 9, 19), they did not move further up either on to the Uasin Gishu plateau or over the western rim of the Rift Valley and down into Nakuru District. Since the Luo were effectively blocked in rural terms their were interesting consequences in their urban distribution. This will be examined later.



By 1979 the country's pastoralists were found in fairly small numbers along the far-flung stock routes. This was in contrast to their distributions in 1962 which were far more restricted. Key Districts in funneling stock from the North and north-east were Isiolo and Tana River; consequently, a large number of groups were present here from as far afield as Turkana and South Nyanza. Maps 23, 27, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 67, 69 and 71 all show the presence of pastoralists along the stock routes and in other pastoral areas. The major groups were the Masai, now found in the North and north-east, the Somali in neighbouring Isiolo and Tana River Districts, the Turkana moving down to, and along, the central Highland transport spine and down the Tana River to the coast.

The distribution patterns of the single-district agricultural majors show that only the Kisii had a marked spread into adjacent Districts (Map 29). However, the Kisii, Meru, Embu and Taita (Maps 29, 31, 33, 37) all exhibited diffusion of low numbers throughout the country. It is worth considering that these people may well have been occupied in the small trading centres and classed as rural in the census.

There were a number of groups whose presence diminished in their rural areas; many of these instances were the consequence of the shifts mentioned previously. For example, the Bajun and Swahili of Lamu District (Maps 39 and 65) both diminished in importance through the influx of Kikuyu. The adjacent District, Tana River, also experienced re-allocation. The proportion of Pokomo diminished as that of the Orma increased (Maps 35 and 57), possibly as the result of resettlement in the irrigation schemes initially instigated by Aldev (Hughes, 1984). There were also small numbers of the many pastoral groups now found along Tana River's major stock route. Another interesting case of decline were the Tharaka (Map 51). In 1962 they were primarily found on either side of the Tana River in Meru and Kitui Districts. The formation of Meru National Park deprived the Tharaka of their grazing land (Wisner, 1977) and so by 1979 their main concentration was in Kitui District.

Finally, the immigrant communities all diminished in importance. The Europeans (Map 73) no longer had their base in the core of the former 'White Highlands.' Many of the Asian traders had been replaced by indigenous people and so their distribution (Map 75) shows contraction from the remote North, north-east, and West. The decrease in the proportion of Arabs in Lamu and Tana River Districts (Map 77) was the result of the influx of other groups mentioned previously.

### **Urban Distributions 1962**

Before describing the distributions of the various ethnic groups a number of general features need examination. Firstly, almost all of the maps show that there was a marked correspondence between areas of rural dominance and centres of urban dominance. Secondly, there was a clear connection between the size of an urban centre and whether it was dominated by one or several ethnic groups. The small urban centres tended to be dominated by a single ethnic group, the fewer, larger, centres were much less likely to be dominated by one group (Table 6).

**Table 6. Relationship between population size of urban centres and single group dominance, 1962.**

Largest Group (%)	2 000-4 999	5 000-24 999	25 000-99 999	>100 000
One group >50	10	7	0	0
More than one group <50	7	8	1	2

**Table 7. Relationship between percentage Asian and size of urban centre, 1962.**

Percent Asian	2 000-4 999	5 000-24 999	25 000-99 999	>100 000
<9,99	8	8	0	0
10,00-19,99	8	5	1	0
20,00-29,99	1	1	0	2
>30	0	10	0	0

The general pattern was for small urban centres within a rural majority area to be dominated by the ethnic group of that area. No fewer than 11 were dominated by the Kikuyu, three by the Kamba, and one each by the Luhya, Mijikenda, Turkana and Arabs. The larger the urban centre, the less likely this was to be so. Indeed, the data in Table 7 indicate that the largest centres were likely to have a high proportion of Asians: the only community without a clear rural base. Asians made up the highest percentage in Nairobi, 27,62, Mombasa, 24,34, and Kisumu, 35,31: these were three of the four largest urban centres in the country.

Seven categories of dispersion were discernible when urban presence was related to rural majority area dominance and diffusion in adjacent Districts. The types were as follows: major presence with dispersion, minor presence with dispersion, beyond rural area dispersion, limited dispersion, very limited dispersion, no dispersion, urban culture groups. Table 8 lists the ethnic groups in the seven categories.

**Table 8. Urban dispersion categories, 1962.**

Dispersion Type	Ethnic Groups
Major presence with dispersion	Kikuyu, Luhya, Mijikenda, Kamba, Turkana
Minor presence with dispersion	Kalenjin, Luo, Masai, Kisii, Meru, Embu, Taita
Beyond rural area dispersion	Somali, Boran
Limited dispersion	Pokomo, Bajun, Swahili
Very limited dispersion	Sambaru, Rendille, Mbere, Iteso, Orma, Gabbra, Kuria, Sakuye
No dispersion	Nderobo, Tharaka, Taveta, Boni, Njamps
Urban culture groups	European, Asian, Arab

The urban major presence category consisted of five of the rural major district groups. Each of them dominated at least one centre within their rural majority area and then exhibited dispersion, with constantly

diminishing percentages, through the urban centres of adjacent Districts to further afield. The Kikuyu (Map 14) were the only group that dispersed from a central core area in all directions. Each of the other groups in this category tended to disperse in one direction. The Luhya had spread to the East (Map 16), the Kamba to the South and West (Map 22), the Mijikenda to the West (Map 26), and the Turkana to the South and East (Map 42). The distribution of Kamba was interesting because it typified a national trend. To the South, the Kamba had dispersed into the urban centres located within the rural area of a weakly urbanised, pastoral group, the Masai. However, the presence of a strongly urbanised agricultural group to the north-west, the Kikuyu, acted as a barrier to urban settlement.

The urban minor presence category had dispersion patterns that were very similar to those described above. The principal difference was that the urban percents within the rural majority area were lower, less than 50; presence in adjacent Districts was correspondingly lower. The urban centres of the Kalenjin, Luo and Masai rural areas had significant numbers of both Asians and agriculturalists from adjacent Districts (Maps 18, 20, 24). These reduced the degree of dominance of the 'home' group. The Kisii, Meru, Embu and Taita (Maps 30, 32, 34, 38) had uni-directional dispersion patterns which corresponded to their rural distributions.

Two nomadic pastoral groups belonged to the third category; intermediate presence, 10-49.9 percent, in urban centres beyond, not within, the rural area. Comparison of Maps 3 and 28 reveals that there were no urban centres enumerated in the Somali dominated north-east. An urban presence beyond their rural borders is therefore not surprising. The Boran, however, were more present in Marsabit Town, which lay beyond Isiolo District, than they were in Isiolo Town (Maps 3, 4 and 48). One reason for this is that Isiolo Town lay at the extreme southern limit of their circulatory movement and there were large numbers of Meru and Kikuyu, from adjacent southern Districts, in the town.

The distributions of ethnic groups in the limited presence, 1-9.9 percent in two urban centres, and very limited presence, 1-9.9 percent in one urban centre, categories mirrored rural patterns. The main difference between the two was that the groups of the very limited category were more likely to be minor pastoralists in peripheral locations. Three examples will suffice to show their trends. The Pokomo (Map 36) were found in the two urban centres nearest to their rural area of Tana River District, Malindi and Lamu Town. The Iteso and Kuria (Maps 56 and 62) were also found in the urban centre nearest to their rural core, in this case the neighbouring towns were Kisii and Kitale.

Five very small ethnic groups had an urban presence of less than one percent in any centre: the Nderobo, Tharaka, Taveta, Boni, and Njemps. Maps 50, 52, 64, 68 and 70 show that the Nderobo were only found in six centres, the Tharaka in 11, the Taveta in seven, the Boni and the Njemps in five. The Survey of Kenya ethnographic map of 1959 (Survey of Kenya, 1959) shows that each of these groups only occupied a small, peripheral pocket of land within an Administrative District.

The urban culture groups were the last category. Maps 74 and 76 reveal the Europeans and Asians to be spread uniformly across the urban centres of the former 'White Highlands' and the surrounding high potential agricultural Districts. This distinctive urban cultural region consisted of urban centres with Asians

between 10 and 24,9 percent and Europeans between 1 and 9,9 percent of their population. More substantial numbers of Europeans were found at the army base of Gilgil and the traditional coastal watering hole of Malindi, to which many Europeans retired. The Arab community was concentrated in the coastal cultural region. Their main presence was in Lamu Town and Malindi (Map 78), adjacent to their rural concentrations in Lamu District.

### **Changes in Urban Distributions 1962-1979**

Many trading centres grew to a population size in excess of 2 000 people in the 17 years between 1962 and 1979 and so the number of urban centres more than doubled from 34 to 78. These 'new' urban centres were not evenly distributed; most of them were located in the inner and outer peripheries, a few in the arid zone. Fox (1991) has shown that the number of centres in the inner periphery increased from 17 to 30 between 1969 and 1979. Over the same period the number in the outer periphery rose from 16 to 30 and, on the arid rim, from two to six. The number of urban centres in the core remained static at 12.

The new urban centres were occupied by fewer ethnic groups than the larger, pre-existing centres (Fox 1989). The older urban centres had experienced an increase in the number of ethnic groups, their modal class rose from 23 to 32, whereas the new urban centres usually ranged from 19 to 25 ethnic groups. Since the spatial distribution of the new centres was uneven there were geographical ramifications to this phenomena.

The seven dispersion categories delimited above could still be discerned in 1979. There was, however, substantial shifting between categories and a new intermediate class was found; six ethnic groups had the characteristic pattern of the urban major presence with dispersion class but they did not dominate a rural District. On the whole, ethnic groups moved up the categories given in Table 8 from very limited to limited, very limited to major dispersion, minor dispersion to major dispersion. Only two groups moved down, the Swahili from limited to very limited and Mbere from very limited to no dispersion.

The urban major with dispersion category doubled in size from five to 11 groups. The bulk of the additions came from the minor with dispersion category, the Kalenjin, Luo, Kisii, Meru, Taita; only one came from the very limited category, the Samburu. The dominant urban community was still clearly the Kikuyu (Map 14), they exceeded 50 percent in 20 urban centres and three of these were beyond the administrative bounds of their rural majority area. The Luhya, Luo and Kamba (Maps 16, 20, 22) dominated four, five and five centres respectively and each demonstrates uni-directional spread. The Luhya and Luo both dispersing East and South along the Kisumu-Mombasa transport spine, the Luhya stream to the North of, and parallel with, the Luo. The Kamba spread South and East into the areas of rural movement mentioned previously. The Kalenjin, Mijikenda, Kisii, Meru, Taita, Turkana and Samburu (Maps 26, 42, 44, 18, 30, 32, 38) all demonstrate similar patterns of dispersion: one or two urban centres were dominated at over 50 percent, there was intermediate presence in and adjacent to their rural majority areas.

In 1979 the Somali and Boran were once more the only two groups dominating centres beyond their rural majority area and not within it. Essentially the same reasons apply for this phenomena but there was some

variation. The Boran (Maps 47, 48) had substantially increased their rural and urban presence to the North of Isiolo District; especially in Sololo and Moyale, the towns on the Ethiopian border. The Somali were also to be found at virtually every border crossing (Maps 3, 4 and 28): in Migori, Namanga and Oloitokitok on the Tanzanian border, in Busia on the Ugandan border, in Moyale on the Ethiopian border. This distribution was the geographical reflection of the occupational niche which the Somali had taken up in the long-distance, particularly international, transportation business.

The new category for 1979 was for the six groups which had no rural majority area but who nevertheless dominated the urban centres of the rural area from which they came. For example, the Pokomo and Rendille (Maps 36, 46) were over 50 percent of the population of Hola and Kargi respectively. The other four groups, the Bajun, Orma, Boni and Arabs, came from the coastal region North of Mombasa and were found at intermediate levels, 10-24.9 percent, in the towns of this area (Maps 40, 58, 68, 78).

The limited dispersion category had expanded from three to four groups. The ethnic groups in this category, and those following, were all small and occupied peripheral locations in the space economy. In the limited dispersion category were the Iteso, Gabbra, Kuria and Sakuye (Maps 56, 60, 62, 72); each of these had been in the very limited category in 1962. The Iteso displayed more of a dispersion than either of the other three groups and the factor responsible was almost certainly the impact of land consolidation (Map 10). One result of consolidation was the demand for goods and services from small local towns; it was in these urban centres that the Iteso were found. This was a process repeated in the Kikuyu, Kamba, Embu, Meru, Luo, Kisii and Luhya areas; interestingly, it was less pronounced in the Kalenjin rural areas.

The only ethnic group in the very limited dispersion category were the Swahili (Map 66). In 1962 there had been eight groups and this diminution clearly shows the increasing representation of the peripheral groups in the urban economy. The Swahili were one of the urbanised coastal communities, similar to the Arabs, whose presence in the urban centres of the region dwindled because of the in-migration of groups from up-country (Ominde, 1981).

The groups with no real dispersion pattern in 1962 and 1979 were the Nderobo, Tharaka, Taveta and Njemps (Maps 50, 52, 64, 70). The Boni had moved up a category and been replaced by the Mbere (Map 54). This category represents the least significant urban communities and one where the ethnic groups all came from ecologically marginal regions. For example, the Njemps occupied the once irrigated plain adjacent to Lake Baringo in the lowland livestock zone of Baringo District; the Taveta inhabited the same lowland livestock zone adjacent to a peripheral lake, in this case it was Lake Jipe in the extreme West of Taita District.

The urban culture groups had become more insignificant by 1979. In 1962 the Asians were found in over half of the urban centres at percentages of over 10, by 1979, no urban centre was over 10 percent Asian (Map 76). The Europeans experienced a similar decrease although from a lower base level (Map 74). One region in which the European presence persisted was along the coast. The Europeans in Mombasa, Kilifi, Watamu, Malindi and Lamu being a mixture of tourists and Kenyan Europeans who were either working or who had retired to the coast.

## Concentration Indices

The indices of concentration summarise the degree of ethnic co-existence within a geographical area. This section looks at the rural and urban indices at the national and regional scales.

The national and average concentration indices are given in Table 9. In 1962 the national figures fall on either side of 75 with an urban index of 74,39 and a rural index of 76,43. By 1979 the degree of concentration had risen to approximately 80; an urban index of 79,87 and a rural index of 80,45. Two processes caused these upward shifts. Firstly, the share of the total taken up by the 'big five' indigenous groups rose from 66 to 70 percent. Secondly, and in conjunction with this, there were declining numbers and percents for the 'immigrant' groups, namely, the Asians, Europeans, Not Stated, and also a number of minor indigenous groups, the Tharaka, Nderobo, Swahili, Sakuye and Boni (Table 3). The urban indices were slightly lower than the rural because of the higher numbers of immigrant and coastal groups in the urban centres. The difference between rural and urban diminished from 2,04 to 0,58 because of the Africanisation of urban centres and the emigration of Asians and Europeans.

Table 9. National and average concentration indices.

National Pattern	1962	1979
All Rural	76,43	80,45
All Urban	74,39	79,87
Averages	1962	1979
Rural Districts	97,68	97,09
Urban Centres	90,25	92,53

The averages for the rural districts and urban centres were substantially higher than the national figures. The rural index was 97,68 and 97,09, the urban index was 90,25 and 92,53. Indices of approximately 75 or 80 would have been realised if the national patterns were duplicated in each rural and urban area. Since this did not occur, the conclusion is that ethnic separation persisted in the post-colonial period.

Table 10. Rural concentration indices.

	Core	Inner Periphery	Outer Periphery	Arid
1962	92,87	98,74	97,92	98,81
1979	95,35	98,68	96,50	94,70*

\* Excludes Wajir, Garissa, Mandera.

The regions of the space economy varied considerably (Tables 10, 11). The lowest rural concentration indices were found in the core Districts (Map 79). In 1962 migrant labour on the farms came from several of the former Land Units and other African countries; there were also a number of Europeans still found

in the core. By 1979 the core Districts had become less diverse as the resettlement programmes made them more ethnically homogenous and both Europeans and non-Kenyan migrant labour diminished. The Districts of the inner periphery were the most concentrated ethnic region in 1962 and 1979. Their index remained almost exactly the same indicating that there was very little movement into another group's rural majority area. The Districts of the outer periphery became more diverse over the period as pastoral communities began to move along the stock routes. There was also the encroachment of agriculturalists into the Masai rural majority area (Map 79). The arid Districts had a high average concentration index but this masks a bimodal distribution. Marsabit District was a relatively highly mixed District, 96,42 and 90,36 in 1962 and 1979, flanked to East and West by Districts with much higher indices, for example, Turkana District's index was 99,95 and 99,04.

**Table 11. Urban concentration indices.**

	Core	Inner Periphery	Outer Periphery	Arid
1962	89,28	90,91	89,80	92,28
1979	89,97	94,34	91,16	94,10

The urban indices (Table 11, Map 80) show that the core had amongst the most diverse urban centres in the whole country. In 1962 there was not a great variation between the regions of the country but by 1979 differences were more pronounced. The low figures for the core reflect the presence of the non-black communities and the influence of the large urban centres which attracted migrants from the entire country. Indeed, Table 12 shows that there was a clear negative relationship between the concentration indices and the size of urban centres in 1962 and 1979.

The inner periphery displayed the highest concentration indices; the 1962 figure being lower because of the presence of Asians and Europeans. In 1979 there were many, new, small urban centres in the inner periphery with very high indices as they were almost totally dominated by the local ethnic group (Map 80). The urban centres of the outer periphery had low indices as they received migrants from the agricultural and pastoral societies that lay up or down the ecological gradient. Finally, the arid zone's urban centres had high average indices but this, as before, is not a true measure of their ethnic concentration. For example, in 1962 Marsabit Town had the very low index of 86,52 whereas Lodwar in Turkana District had the country's highest index of 98,04. Clearly, Marsabit Town, like Marsabit District, was ethnically mixed in comparison to neighbouring towns.

**Table 12. Relationship between urban population size and concentration indices.**

	2 000-4 999	5 000-24 999	25 000-99 999	>100 000
1962	91,18 (n=17)	90,15 (n=15)	88,17 (n=1)	84,26 (n=2)
1979	93,06 (n=35)	92,03 (n=28)*	92,38 (n=9)*	83,46 (n=2)

\* Excludes Meru and Machakos because of their over-extended boundaries.

+ Excludes Kisumu because of its over-extended boundary.

The most interesting regional aspect is masked by the division of the country into core, inner periphery etc. When the average index for the coastal urban centres is calculated, regardless of whether the centre is in core or periphery, then the figures are lower than for any other regional categorisation. In 1962 the index was 87,98, in 1979 it was 87,99. A number of features have brought this about. Firstly, there is the tradition of trade and the higher degrees of urbanisation of coastal ethnic groups. Secondly, the coastal region was one of the main destinations for up-country migrants, particularly from western Kenya, seeking employment in the urban and rural areas. Thirdly, the urban population was genuinely cosmopolitan with many non-blacks still engaged in trade and manufacture and many tourists from European countries.

## Discussion

There are a number of features from the analysis which are of relevance to South Africa. Perhaps the main feature was the high degree of ethnic concentration which persisted after the end of the colonial period. The former white rural Districts, which had been amongst the most diverse, each became dominated by the ethnic group of the adjacent District. They did, however, still remain more mixed than the former black Districts. The Districts of the inner periphery, the former Native Land Units, remained extremely highly concentrated. This feature was also true of the many small urban centres which developed in the inner and outer periphery. It was the larger urban centres that were the most ethnically diverse areas in the country.

There was a good deal of movement around the country. There were many pastoralists found throughout the national area along the main transport routes. In the urban centres there were those people who had entered the formal administrative and commercial sectors and who subsequently moved away from their home area. Many of these people would be replacing the Europeans and Asians who had emigrated. There were a number of major shifts of people away from their home areas. Firstly, there was extension into the former white rural Districts. Secondly, there was encroachment into the Masai areas by bordering agriculturalists. Thirdly, there was movement of up-country agriculturalists, the Kikuyu and Kamba, on to resettlement schemes at the coast.

It is possible to discern four cultural regions in 1962; the processes described above meant that two of these had largely merged by 1979. The first cultural region was the 'White Highlands' with its European rural presence, mixture of migrant labour from within and outside the country, and urban centres in which Asians and Europeans made up a significant proportion. The second culture region was the former 'Native Land Units', each consisted of ethnically homogenous areas, they were largely agricultural, their urban centres were smaller and consisted of a mixture of the local ethnic group with Asians and Europeans. The Arid Zone was the third region; ethnic homogeneity was not easily achieved amongst nomadic pastoralists, their urban centres were small and dominated by Asians and the neighbouring nomadic groups. Finally, the coastal region consisted of ethnic groups which were amongst the most urbanised in the country, perhaps not surprisingly, the urban centres were also the most diverse in the country. There was Arab, Asian, European and African land ownership in the coast region. By 1979 the emigration of Europeans and Asians



and the extension of black ownership into the former white rural areas had to a large extent blurred the ethnic differences between the first two culture regions.

One striking similarity between Kenya and South Africa is the composition of ethnic groups at the national level. In Kenya the eight largest ethnic groups comprised 20, 14, 13, 11, 11, 6, 6, and 5 percent of the country's 1979 population. In South Africa, including the TBVC states, the eight largest groups in 1985 were Xhosa 21, Zulu 19, White 15, Tswana 10, North Sotho 8, Coloured 8, South Sotho 6 and Tsonga 4 percent (Republic of South Africa, 1986; Development Bank of South Africa, 1987). The other main similarity between the two countries was the racial restriction on land ownership which produced the familiar pattern of ethnically homogenous homelands and more diverse white areas. The principal difference between the two countries is South Africa's much higher degree of urbanisation and longer history of industrialisation; in 1980 48 percent of South Africa's population was urbanised, this compares with the Kenyan figure of 14 percent in 1979.

Given these similarities and differences a number of general implications for South Africa may be reached from the Kenyan experience. Firstly, there will probably be a rural diffusion outwards from the homeland areas. In Kenya this process was aided by the land settlement policy. Secondly, urban centres will become increasing black as the various black ethnic groups enter the urban areas and if a significant percentage of the whites and Indians emigrate. Increasing black rural-urban migration has started already in South Africa with the repeal of influx controls. Thirdly, the small urban centres will be ethnically more homogenous than the intermediate and larger metropolitan centres. Finally, there will be substantial movement of small numbers of black people throughout the country's urban centres.

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