Alfred Buregeya
Kenyan English

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This book is dedicated to my daughter Lydia (especially for her assistance in adjusting the examples and tables used in it) and her siblings Clément, Modeste and Cassilde, and her mother Xavérine, all of whose love and support kept my morale high.

Preface

This book is published almost half a century after Hocking's (1974) highly prescriptive discussion of the grammatical "errors" in the English of East Africans in general and of Kenyans in particular. The present book is much wider in scope: it covers all the main areas of linguistic study, in addition to offering a historical and cultural background to this coverage. Moreover, and more importantly, it views Hocking's "really common errors", which, as stated in his own preface, are "made every day, by many people", as deep-rooted features of Kenyan English that need to be recognised as such.

The book is aimed first of all at the doubters (mostly from Kenya) of the existence of a language variety that can rightly be called Kenyan English. But it is also obviously aimed at the wide network of researchers on second language varieties, especially post-colonial ones, of English around the world. Since they are already "converted" and need not be "preached to", they will find a lot of detail in this book that is likely to inspire their own research.

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From this network I am most grateful to Paul Skandera: not only did he, in those early days, make available to me a great deal of the existing literature on KenE, the most valuable of which being his own book on idiom in KenE, but also he later created an opportunity for me to join the wider world of writing about varieties of English around the world. From this wider world I received valuable support from Edgar Schneider (a former editor of *English World-Wide*), Thomas Hoffmann (with whom I wrote the proposal of this book at its project stage) and, notably, from Bernd Kortmann. In his capacity as my corresponding editor (for De Gruyter Mouton's DoE series), he meticulously went through the draft and revised versions of each chapter of this book to check every detail. His comments and corrections (and those he relayed to me from his two co-editors) are an immense contribution to the quality of this book. I am deeply indebted to Bernd. May he and his colleagues at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), who hosted me during the summer of 2018 for the final stage of the writing of the book, find in its publication the fruits of their own priceless contribution.

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1 A brief history of English in multilingual Kenya

Good historical accounts of English in Kenya are already available, e.g. in Gorman (1974), Mazrui and Mazrui (1996), Skandera (2003: 8–15), Schmied (2004a), Schneider (2007: 189–197), Higgins (2009: 21–28), and Hoffmann (2010). Schneider's (2007) and Hoffmann's (2010) articles offer accounts which are structured similarly, and very clearly, along the lines of the Dynamic Model of how new Englishes have evolved, a model associated with Edgar W. Schneider and first propounded in Schneider (2003). In both Schneider (2007) and Hoffmann (2010), English in Kenya is said to have gone through a first phase, also referred to as the "foundation" phase (from the 1860s to 1920), during which Kenya had its first, and quite limited, contact with English; then through a second phase, referred to as the "exonormative stabilization" phase (from 1920 to the late 1940s), during which English was more widely spoken in Kenya by a "stable" community of British settlers, whose "written and spoken English as used by educated speakers" had to be, as an external norm, the "accepted [...] linguistic standard of reference" (Schneider 2003: 245); and, finally, through a third phase, referred to as the "nativization" phase, "the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation", one which, in the case of Kenya, has gone on from the late 1940s to the present, according to the two authors. Since it is beyond the scope of this chapter (and the whole book at large) to be an argument for or against the Dynamic Model, it will take into account the historical events that have shaped Kenyan English through the three phases, but refer to them in purely historical terms of "pre-independence" and "post-independence" periods.

1.1 The pre-independence period

Roughly, this is a period during which there was no enthusiasm from the British occupiers and colonizers for promoting English. This period can be divided into three sub-periods: 1) before Kenya's status as an official British colony, 2) from the official-colony status to just after World War II, and 3) between after World War II and Kenya's independence.

Note: This chapter was co-authored with Jane Akinyi Ngala Oduor.

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1.1.1 Before Kenya's status as an official British colony

This sub-period runs from the time of the first contact of Kenya with English to 1920, when Kenya's status changed from that of East African Protectorate to that of official colony. It is a period during which Kenya came into contact with English, but limited contact. Schmied (2004a: 919) notes that "English came late to East Africa". All the historical accounts cited above mention the second half of the 19th century as the first real contact of Kenya with the English language. According to one account, "[u]ntil the end of the 19th century [. . .] British interest in eastern Africa was largely limited to trade and, since the 1850s, to the expeditions of such British explorers as Richard Burton, David Livingstone, and John Speke" (Skandera 2003: 10). We are also reminded by Higgins (2009: 24) that "[t]he Germans were the first Europeans to occupy East Africa in the form of a protectorate over the Sultan of Zanzibar's coastal possessions in 1885", while "[t]he British occupied Kenya from the late 19th century, transforming Kenya from a protectorate to a British Crown colony in 1920".[1]

Going by Schneider's (2007) account, it should be pointed out that well before the few years before the end of the 19th century, some amount of English had already been disseminated, even away from the coastal area, mainly by missionaries. Schneider (2007: 189) writes:

> In the nineteenth century, contact with English in the interior grew but slowly. The impact of explorers was restricted and not lasting. Missionaries brought English with them, and started teaching and spreading it systematically. However, they also, and in many cases primarily, used indigenous languages, chiefly Kiswahili, already an established lingua franca, for evangelization. In some cases soldiers, like the King's African Rifles, also disseminated English [. . .].

Schneider adds that "[. . .] for a long time, education was left to the missions, as the State did not want to spend money on it and the settlers were primarily interested in their profits" (2007: 189).

1 Hoffmann (2010: 288) gives useful, specific information: "In 1895, when the IBEAC [the Imperial British East Africa Company, which, in 1888, replaced a commercial venture called the British East African Association] ran into problems, the British Government officially took over East Africa, which from then was known as the East African Protectorate".

1.1.2 From 1920 to just after World War II

This sub-period witnessed an influx of British settlers in Kenya, which increased the number of English speakers. Paradoxically, this greater number did not mean a greater dissemination of the English language beyond the settler community. This is what Schneider (2007: 191) says about this period: “British settlers kept immigrating in substantial numbers, and English became firmly established as the language of administration, business, law, and other higher domains in society”. Since the colonial rulers needed the assistance of some locals, they “trained a small indigenous elite as administrators but essentially were not interested in disseminating the English language” (2007: 191). They were not because “[t]he settlers in particular are reported to have resisted the spread of English to Africans on a larger scale, deliberately using kiSettla, a reduced form of Kiswahili, instead. Many of them were aware that knowledge of the dominant language means access to power, and that they did not want to share” (191). Mazrui and Mazrui (1996: 272) use strong terms to refer to this apparently paradoxical situation: “In Kenya, the presence of a strong British settler community was initially a curse rather than a blessing to the spread of English”.

But it was not just the colonial administration and the settler community at large that were not keen on disseminating English. “Even the three British mission societies [. . .] did not use English in their evangelization” (Schmied 2004a: 920). The author explains how this preference for Kiswahili and indigenous languages over English fitted into a broader language policy: “It is important to remember that colonial language policies did not favour English [. . .] wholesale, but established a ‘trifocal’ or trilingual system with (a) English as the elite and international language, (b) the regional lingua franca [i.e. Kiswahili in the case of East Africa, for ‘intraterritorial’ communication] and (c) the ‘tribal’ languages or ‘vernaculars’ for local communication” (2004a: 921).[2]

1.1.3 Between after World War II and Kenya’s independence

As Hoffmann (2010: 290) puts it, “[a]fter the Second World War, the British Empire started to fall apart” after “[t]he role-model India became independent

2 It is worth specifying in this chapter (and elsewhere in the book, where applicable) that the phrase *vernacular languages of Kenya* does not cover Swahili (despite it being a native language of Kenya), but all the other languages of the various ethnic groups of Kenya, including those of Asian origin like Gujarati, Hindi, and Punjabi.

[in 1947], and shortly afterwards the Africans started demanding political rights as well". In the particular case of Kenya this demand for political rights was most forcefully (and forcibly) expressed by the Mau Mau movement (composed mainly of people from the Kikuyu tribe) whose uprising, from 1952 to 1959, was about claiming back their land that had been taken by the white settlers.

Away from fighting for land, although still within the same broader context of, on the one hand, fighting for and, on the other hand, granting rights, the 1945–1963[3] sub-period is one during which, in Kenya, the interests of both the colonial administration and the African nationalists converged, to the extent that both parties wanted more English for the indigenous populations. Schneider (2007: 192) offers an explanation for this:

> The stable colonial status, with its clear separation of [settler] and [indigenous] strands, was concluded by the aftermath of World War II. Africans returning from the war demanded political rights, including language education [. . .]. The British were reasonable enough to understand that independence of their African colonies would come before too long. In a sharp turn of their policy, their goal now was to "modernize" these countries and prepare them for independence (amongst other things by teaching English on a broader scale) [. . .].

What was the "educational language policy and practice", to use Gorman's (1974) terms, is summarized in the following statement:

> In summarizing the state of the existing school system [,] the 1948 report [[4]] observed that in the past the language of instruction in sub-elementary schools was the vernacular, "but from standard 3 onwards Swahili is taught as the *lingua franca* of the Colony and has been the medium of instruction in junior secondary schools, although it is being rapidly replaced by English". (Gorman 1974: 428)

Although it transpires that already before the war the Beecher committee had, according to Gorman (1974: 427), recommended that "English should take the place of Swahili as the colony's lingua franca in as short a time as practicable" (while at the same time recommending that "more emphasis should be placed on the teaching of the vernacular languages"), it was not until after the war, in 1948, that the Advisory Council on African Education in Kenya "recommended the adoption of the report" (1974: 427). And it was only in

3 This is a period acknowledged by Gorman (1974: 427), who devotes a section to it under the heading "Educational language policy and practice, 1945–63".

4 This is the report "on the Teaching of Languages in African Schools which had been drawn up by a committee appointed in December 1942 under the chairmanship of the Venerable Archdeacon L. J. Beecher", a report discussed "after the war" by "the newly appointed local Advisory Council on African Education in Kenya" (Gorman 1974: 427).

1950 that the “*Proposals for the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Report on African Education in Kenya* [were] published as Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1950”, during the debate on which “it was affirmed that the ‘language policy in the schools is that English shall be adopted as soon as possible in the post-primary classes’” (1974: 430).

The suggestion that African nationalists wanted more English after the war can be illustrated by the position of one of them, Mr Ohanga, who sat on the Legislative Council that discussed the proposals mentioned above, and who is reported to have “stated in [the] debate [that took place in August 1950] that ‘I should like to say that for a long time very many of us have pressed that the teaching of English should be at an early stage and the . . . general policy of the country has not always been sympathetic to this view . . . ’” (Gorman 1974: 430). Gorman further reports that “[i]n the early 1950s the trend for English to be used as a medium of instruction in the primary schools in urban and rural areas increased, although it was admitted in the Education Department Report for 1952 that ‘possibly the transition was premature in the more backward areas’” (1974: 431). And the author further notes that “[i]n 1953 English became the compulsory medium in the examination held at the end of the eighth year of primary education” and goes on to comment that “[t]his was of course a most significant development” (1974: 432). The significance of this lay in the fact that English, which until then had not even been the language of junior secondary schools, had so quickly become the language of even primary school, albeit the very end of it.

We are further informed by Gorman (1974: 435) that “[in 1958] many schools did in fact begin the teaching of English in the second year [of primary school] though the majority began it in the subsequent year; and in most schools it became the medium of instruction in the sixth year”. Three years later, that is “[i]n 1961, the course [that had been decided upon in 1957 as a pilot course using English as the medium of education for Asian children in Nairobi] was adopted for general use in the schools and in the following year [i.e. 1962] all first year classes in Nairobi made the changeover” (Gorman 1974: 437). And “[t]he use of English as a medium of instruction continued to spread [. . .]” so quickly that “[t]he number of English medium classes in African primary schools rose from 14 in 1962 to 290 in 1963” (1974: 437).

1.2 The post-independence period

This is a period of language policies and constitutional amendments initiated by a government of Kenya composed of the local élite. To use Gorman’s (1974)

words, this is a period of "policy decisions made or accepted by the Government of Kenya since the attainment of independence in December 1963" (1974: 438). In the present book, it will be divided into three sub-periods: from 1964 to 1974, from 1974 to 2010, and from 2010 onwards.

1.2.1 From 1964 to 1974

This is a decade dominated by the effects of the strengthened status of English in the wake of the Ominde Commission's Report of December 1964[5] and the revision of the Constitution of Kenya in 1969. But, at the same time, it is also a period of strong lobbying for a greater role for Swahili and of the diminishing role of local vernaculars in education.

The Ominde Commission's findings were much heeded because, among other things, and as Gorman (1974: 441) puts it, "[i]n its membership and aims, [the commission] constituted 'an attempt to ascertain as accurately as possible the views of the people of Kenya as a whole'" and "the commission reported that 'the great majority of witnesses wished to see the universal use of English language as the medium of instruction from Primary [1]'", a view with which the Commission itself agreed.

For its part, the revision of the Constitution of Kenya in 1969 is quite relevant here because it made English the language of parliament in two major respects: on the one hand, "[. . .] clause 55 [. . .] states that 'the business of the National assembly shall be conducted in English,'" and, on the other hand, "Clause 40(1) (b) [. . .] provides that a person shall not be qualified for election to the House of Representatives 'unless he is able to speak and [. . .] to read the English language well enough to be able to take an active part in the proceedings of the National assembly'" (Gorman 1974: 438).

Regarding the advocacy of a greater role for Swahili, despite their views unequivocally strengthening the English language, the respondents to the Ominde Commission's survey are reported to have, at the same time, recommended more use for Swahili: "[The commission's report] stated that 'those giving evidence

5 As Gorman (1974: 440–441) tells us, "[a]fter Kenya became an independent state, the Minister for Education appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Professor S. H. Ominde of University College, Nairobi, [. . .] to advise the government in the formulation and implementation of national policies for education" (1974: 440). The commission was to be known as the "Kenya Education Commission". "The first part of [its] report was submitted [. . .] in December 1964, and [its] recommendations established the guidelines for [. . .] language use in education".

were virtually unanimous in recommending a general spread of this language'" (Gorman 1974: 442). But the greatest advocate of an increased role for Swahili at the time seems to be the president of Kenya himself, Jomo Kenyatta: "On more than one occasion in Parliament, President Kenyatta, speaking in Swahili, has referred to the desirability of using Swahili in the House of Representatives" (Gorman 1974: 438). The president had the support of his ruling party, KANU (the Kenya African National Union), as the following statements suggest: "In August 1969, formal recognition of Swahili as the national language was given by the National Governing Council of KANU and in April 1970 detailed plans relating to an increasing use of Swahili were announced by the Acting Secretary General of the party"; later "[the Acting Secretary General of KANU] reiterated the party's decision to make Swahili the national language by 1974 on two further occasions in April 1970" (Gorman 1974: 446).

As for the vernaculars, which until independence had enjoyed the quasi-monopoly of being used as the media of instruction in early primary school, not everyone that gave evidence to the Ominde Commission supported them on this role anymore: "On the matter of use of vernacular languages in education, evidence was divided. [...] [I]t is of interest also that for the first time, the use of the vernacular languages in education was called into question by an advisory body not only on educational grounds but also in relation to the issue of national unity and integration" (Gorman 1974: 442).

In summary, during the first decade after independence, English became stronger than ever before, while Swahili, which had been weakened a decade earlier mainly through the influence of the Beecher Committee's recommendations, was given a new lease of life, as it were. And in this language policy realignment, the vernacular languages became the losers. All in all, and to borrow Gorman's (1974) own conclusion, "[a]t present [i.e. in the early 1970s] the educational role of Swahili as a subject of instruction is being emphasized and that of English as a medium of instruction maintained, while less emphasis is being laid than was previously the case on the educational roles of the vernacular languages" (1974: 447).

1.2.2 From 1974 to 2010

This sub-period corresponds to almost four decades of "fluctuating" fortunes for Swahili as a serious rival to English, and of the somewhat "reinstated" role of vernaculars in education in early primary school.

The first good fortune for Swahili during this period first came in 1974. Mazrui and Mazrui (1996: 293) put it this way: "After some ten years of recurrent

debate, in and outside parliament, however, the nationalist position prevailed. In 1974, Kiswahili was declared the national language and, for the first time, English had to share the parliamentary forum with a local language". Skandera (2003: 14) gives further details: "[. . .] the constitution of [Kenya] 1963 stated competence in English as the only language requirement for election into parliament, and it specified English as the sole parliamentary language. [. . .] In 1974, an amendment to the constitution replaced English with Swahili as the sole language of parliament, and Swahili, by decree, was declared the national language".

However, just one year later, Swahili saw this sole-language-status in parliament reduced. Skandera (2003: 14) informs us that "[i]n 1975, another amendment to the constitution repealed the previous one, and instead required that Swahili be merely the language of debate in parliament whereas all legislation be written and all discussion thereof be quoted in English". Five years later, English was officially made Swahili's competitor in parliamentary debate. Skandera (2003) goes on to say: "And in 1979, barely one year after succeeding Kenyatta as president, Daniel arap Moi reintroduced English, by a third constitutional amendment, as a language of parliamentary debate along with Swahili [. . .]" (2003: 14). However, at the same time, the new president enhanced the role of Swahili, still regarding parliamentary matters: "[. . .] he added competence in Swahili to the qualifications for parliamentarians besides competence in English" (2003: 14–15). That was the second good fortune for Swahili after 1974.

The third one was to come a decade later, but this time concerning educational, not parliamentary matters: in 1984, Swahili was made a compulsory and examinable subject in both primary and secondary school (until then it was examinable, though not compulsory, only in secondary school), thus implementing, "with the advent of the 8-4-4 system of education" (Oduor 2010: 90), a recommendation first made by the Gachathi Commission's Report of 1976, and later taken up by the Mackay Commission's Report of 1981[6] (Oduor 2010: 90–91).

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6 It is the Mackay Commission that recommended the 8-4-4 system of education (i.e. 8 years of primary school, 4 of secondary school, and 4 of undergraduate university studies). In January 2016, the current government launched, at a "National Conference on Curriculum Reform", the process of replacing the 8-4-4 system with a new one of 2-6-3-3-3 (i.e. 2 years of pre-primary school, 6 of primary school, 3 of junior secondary school, 3 of senior secondary school, and 3 of undergraduate university studies). The new system is based on the recommendations of a 2012 report by a taskforce chaired by Prof. Douglas Odhiambo.

There was no other change in the relative statuses of English, on the one hand, and of Swahili and the other indigenous languages of Kenya, on the other, until the new constitution of Kenya enacted in August 2010. Until this date, English remained the only official language of Kenya and, with specific reference to language educational policy, it remained the language of instruction from class 4 of primary school in non-cosmopolitan areas, with the “catchment-area” languages (mainly the local vernaculars) being used for instruction up to class 3; in cosmopolitan areas, English was, and still is, used for instruction from even nursery school.

1.2.3 In the wake of the 2010 Constitution and of the analogue-to-digital broadcasting migration

This is a period during which English is still the most prestigious language in Kenya, but is at the same time facing a clearly greater competition than before, not only from Swahili, but also from the local vernaculars, following the digital migration and local-content policy and the creation of counties. Details of these potentially game-changing factors are given in Chapter 2, under the section on “cultural factors”.

2 Geography, demography, and cultural factors

This chapter will first situate Kenya in Africa, describe its landscape, and offer a brief overview of its economic geography. It will then provide a short description of the country's overall population and of the breakdown of the latter into its ethnic groups, its religious composition, its age groups, and its school attendance ratios. But the bulk of the chapter will be devoted to the cultural factors that are reflected in a variety of phenomena that bring to light the relative dominance of the English language in the multilingual setting of Kenya.

2.1 Geography

Most of what will be written in this chapter regarding geography and demography was taken from the various publications by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (hereafter KNBS, for the purposes of referencing) related to the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census.

Kenya is an East African country that straddles the Equator: it lies between 4 degrees of latitude south and 4 degrees of latitude north. As for its longitude location, it lies between 34 and 41 degrees east. It is bordered by Uganda to the west, by South Sudan to its north-western tip, by Ethiopia to the north, by Somalia to the east, by the Indian Ocean to the south-east, and by Tanzania to the south. According to the KNBS (2012: 10) Kenya "covers an area of approximately 582,000 km^2".[1]

Kenya is a country of plains in its eastern part, all the way from its border with Ethiopia, along its long border with Somalia and a 536 km-long coastline on the Indian Ocean, to its border with Tanzania. The northern part of this long eastern stretch is commonly referred to as arid and semi-arid lands, and so is its northern strip along the country's border with Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Uganda. In fact, more or less half-way in this northern strip, on the eastern shore of Lake Turkana, lies an area called the Chalbi desert (but called "desert" more on maps than in reality by the general public).

1 The term "a*pproximately*" is quite appropriate here to capture the different and potentially confusing figures given for Kenya's area. For example, two encyclopaedic dictionaries give differing figures: the *Collins English Dictionary*, 10th edn. (2009) gives 582,647 sq km (i.e. 224,960 sq miles), while the French dictionary le *Petit Larousse Illustré* (2017) rounds it up to 583,000 sq km. Several Internet sources (through Google Search) give other, and differing, figures as well.

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As one moves from the country's eastern area (from the southern to the northern end of the latter) into its interior, the altitude gradually rises: for example, from Mombasa, the second largest city of Kenya and its main port town in the south-east on the Indian Ocean, the altitude rises from sea-level (just at 50 metres in Mombasa) to around 1,650 metres (5,500 feet) in Nairobi, the capital city, situated in the south-centre-west of the country, at a driving distance of a little under 500 km from Mombasa. (For example, the country's standard gauge railway line, inaugurated on 31 May 2017, is 472 km long from Mombasa to Nairobi.) However, the highest peak in Kenya, Mount Kenya, at 5,199 metres, is not situated further west, but at 138 kilometres (85.76 miles) to the north-east of Nairobi. Indeed, the (East African) Rift Valley, to the west of Nairobi, breaks the rise in altitude. The KNBS (2012: 14) states that "The Kenya [h]ighlands are found to the east and west of the Great Rift Valley. [...] The [h]ighlands to the east of the Rift Valley [vary] between altitudes 1,500 metres [and] 5,199 metres [...] The highlands to the west of the Rift Valley lie between altitude[s] 1800 [and] 2750 metres [...]". It adds that "the Rift Valley of Africa [,] which cuts Kenya from Lake Turkana [in] the north to [the] Tanzania [b]order [in] the south [at Lake Natron]", can reach an altitude of as low as "1,000 metres" in its eastern part (2012: 14). An altitude map of Kenya will show that the highlands of Kenya are concentrated in the west-centre of the country.

Kenya has very many tourist attractions, not only along its coastal line, but also in all other parts of the country. For example, along its long southern border with Tanzania can be found two of its famous game-park reserves, the Amboseli National Park and the Maasai Mara National Reserve. There are many other national parks in the country's eastern region (starting with the Tsavo National Park in the south), especially in its eastern-central part, to the east of Mount Kenya. The Rift Valley plains and valleys are another huge tourist attraction, not only because of the volcanic mountains that surround them, but also of the eight lakes along their path, from Lake Turkana (the biggest of them) on the Ethiopian border to Lake Natron (albeit just the northern tip of it) on the Tanzanian border, through Lakes Baringo, Bogoria, Nakuru, Elementaita, Naivasha, and Magadi. Tourist attractions in the western part of the country include Mount Elgon (about 4,300 metres in the Mount Elgon National Park), which straddles the border between Kenya and Uganda in the centre-west of Kenya, the Kakamega Forest to the south, and, further south, Lake Victoria (shared by Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania). On the shores of its arm that goes deep into Kenya lies the city of Kisumu, the third largest town in the country.

Kenya is largely an agricultural and livestock farming country. The KNBS (2012: 10) points out that "Agriculture (including coffee and tea cultivation) is the main source of revenue for 70.0 per cent of the population". It adds that

"Major cash crops are tea, coffee, pyrethrum, wheat and maize". Both cash crops and other foodstuffs are mainly produced in the highlands on both sides of the Rift Valley. Livestock farming is practised mostly on the Rift Valley plains and in the semi-arid and arid lands of eastern and north-eastern Kenya, and the entire northern stretch of the country. But Kenya is also "one of the most industrially developed countries in East Africa and its manufacturing sector accounts for 14.0 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product" (KNBS 2012: 10). In fact, it is the most industrialized of the (now) six East African Community member countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and its newest member, South Sudan), which makes it "[the] regional hub for trade and finance in East Africa" (KNBS 2012: 10).

With regard to administrative units, at the time of the 2009 census Kenya was divided into 8 provinces and 158 districts. But in August 2010 a new constitution was enacted which scrapped the 8 provinces and replaced them with 47 counties as the "focal point for development" (KNBS, 2012a: 20). Figure 2.1 is the county map taken from the KNBS (2012a: 13).

2.2 Demography

The last population census in Kenya was conducted in the last week of August 2009. It produced a total of 38,610,097 people, of whom 19,417,639 (i.e. 50.3%) were female and 19,192,458 (i.e. 49.7%) were male. 67.7% of the entire 38.6-million population was rural, against 32.3% urban. (See Kenya National Bureau of Statistics [2012], *The 2009 Kenya Population and Census Highlights*). Nairobi, the capital city, had a population of 3,181,369. According to the KNBS (2012: 60), in its "Analytical report on population dynamics", "[...] Kenya's population by 2015 [was] expected to be 44.2 million [...] [and] 50.3 million by 2020 [...]". These projections were based on "[a] natural [population] growth rate [of] 3.0 percent per annum" (2012: xv). In line with these projections, at the time of writing this chapter (in 2017), Kenya's population should be somewhere between 47 and 48 million.[2]

A detailed breakdown of the 38.6-million population of Kenya by tribe (and ethnic) affiliation is given in Table 13 on pp. 397–398 of the KNBS (2010a). While it is generally said and accepted that there are 42 tribes in Kenya, it is not

2 Note, however, that in his speech commemorating the 54th Madaraka Day ('Self-Rule' Day) on 1 June 2017, Kenya's president, Uhuru Kenyatta, mentioned the figure of 45 million as the country's population.

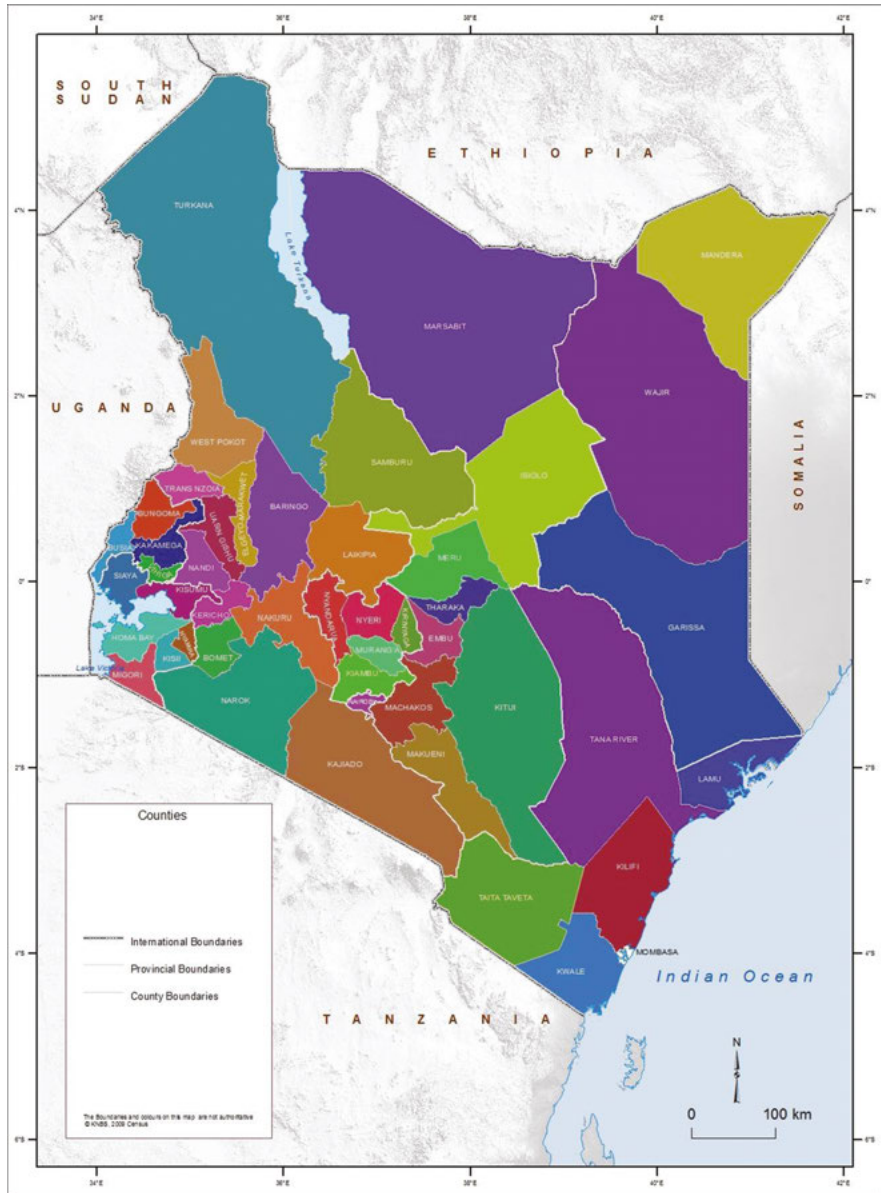

Figure 2.1: Map of the counties of Kenya (taken from the KNBS 2012a: 13).