

Political Mobilization of Layered Ethnic Identities

Karol Czuba

Online Appendices

Appendix 1. Hierarchical ethnic communities in Marsabit

The table only details the two layers of ethnicity that have been politically salient in Marsabit politics. Each of the listed hierarchical ethnic communities has multiple additional layers: the specified clans or phratries are divided between or into moieties, clans, subclans, and lineages. The Wayyu (or Waata), not listed here, have been historically considered a subgroup of the Borana, who themselves constitute a moiety of the larger Oromo ethnic group (or nation). Not all individual identities within the two layers have acquired political salience.

Superordinate ethnic identity	Major subordinate ethnic identities
Borana	Clans: Bachituu, Daaccituu, Dambituu, Digaluu, Galaantuu, Harusii, Hawaxxuu, Karrayyuu, Maccituu, Maliyyuu, Maxxaarrii, Konnituu, Noonituu, Odituu, Qarcabduu, Sir-ayyuu, Warrajiddaa
Burji	Clans: Goda, Gamayo, Halaka, Qadado, Yaabbi
Gabbra	Phratries: Algana, Galbo, Gar, Odola, Sharbana
Rendille	Clans: Dubsahai, Galdeeylan, Matarba, Nahagan, Odola, Rengumo, Saale, Tubcha, Uiyam
Sakuye	Clans: Arsuruwa, Deele, Fur, Gaal Horra, Kurno, Matarba, Worr Suya, and, among the Sakuye Miigo: Mailan, Jiriwa, Tubadi
Samburu (including Ariaal)	Phratries: Lngwesi, Loimusi, Lorogushu, Lukumaay, Masula, Nyaparai, Ong'eli, Pisikishu
Somali	Clans: Ajuuran, Degodia, Garre

Appendix 2. Ethnic composition of Marsabit electoral districts

Electoral district	Electoral district type	Years of existence	Largest superordinate ethnic group
Rendille	National Assembly constituency	1963-1966	Rendille
Marsabit-Moyale	National Assembly constituency	1963-1969	Borana
Marsabit South	National Assembly constituency	1966-1988	Rendille
Marsabit North	National Assembly constituency	1969-1988	Gabbra

Moyale	National Assembly constituency	1969-present	Borana
Laisamis	National Assembly constituency	1988-present	Rendille
North Horr	National Assembly constituency	1988-present	Gabbara
Saku	National Assembly constituency	1988-present	Borana
Marsabit County	National Assembly Woman Representative electoral district	2013-present	Borana
Marsabit District	Senate electoral district	1963-1966	Borana
Marsabit County	Senate electoral district	2013-present	Borana
Marsabit County	Gubernatorial electoral district	2013-present	Borana

Appendix 3. Research participants

1. KA2, nongovernmental organization worker, Nairobi, February 23, 2016
2. KA14, Anglican priest, Marsabit, April 24, 2016
3. KA15, Borana professional, Marsabit, September 17, 2016
4. KA22, journalist, Marsabit, January 15, 2018
5. KE40, Borana *jellaba* (elder), Badassa, April 20, 2016
6. KO3, Marsabit MP, Nairobi, February 23, 2016
7. KO5, Rendille national government official, Nairobi, February 25, 2016
8. KO7, powerful Rendille politician, Nairobi, March 3, 2016
9. KO38, county government official, Marsabit, April 13 and September 14, 2016
10. KO39, county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
11. KO40, Borana county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
12. KO41, Gabbara county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
13. KO45, county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
14. KO46, Burji county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
15. KO47, Rendille county government official, Marsabit, April 21, 2016
16. KO49, Borana county government official, Marsabit, April 22, 2016
17. KO50, Gabbara county government official, Marsabit, April 22, 2016
18. KO51, Samburu county government official, Marsabit, April 22, 2016
19. KO52, county government official, Marsabit, April 25, 2016
20. KO53, Rendille county government official, Marsabit, April 25, 2016
21. KO55, Rendille county government official, Marsabit, April 25, 2016
22. KO56, Borana county government official, Marsabit, April 26, 2016
23. KO57, Gabbara county government official, Marsabit, April 26, 2016
24. KO58, Borana county government official, Marsabit, April 26, 2016
25. KO64, Rendille county government official, Marsabit, April 27, 2016
26. KO65, Gabbara county government official, Marsabit, April 27, 2016
27. KO66, County Executive Committee member (CEC), Marsabit, April 26, 2016
28. KO74, Borana MCA, Marsabit, April 24, 2016
29. KO75, Borana MCA, Marsabit, April 27, 2016
30. KO76, Borana MCA, Marsabit, April 27, 2016
31. KO79, Rendille MCA, Nairobi, April 29, 2016
32. KO80, Borana politician, Marsabit, September 14, 2016
33. KO81, Burji teacher, Marsabit, September 15, 2016
34. KO170, Borana MCA, Marsabit, January 15, 2018
35. KO171, county government official, Marsabit, January 15, 2018
36. KO172, county government official, Marsabit, January 16, 2018
37. KO176, Gabbara MCA, Marsabit, January 16, 2018

38. KO177, Borana politician, Marsabit, January 16, 2018
39. KO178, CEC, Marsabit, January 16, 2018
40. KO179, Ariaal county government official, Marsabit, January 16, 2018
41. KO180, Burji teacher, Marsabit, January 16, 2018

Appendix 4. Gubernatorial and parliamentary electoral contests in Marsabit, 1963-2017

To facilitate interpretation of election results, I denote the successful candidates in **bold**, holders of the same office incumbent at the time of an election in **red**, former (but not incumbent) officeholders (in the same constituency or a former constituency that included the territory of the constituency contested in a specific election) in **orange**, and future officeholders in **blue**.

Unless otherwise noted, all data on candidates' party affiliations and electoral performance are drawn from official election results reports released by the Electoral Commission of Kenya and, subsequently, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and from Parliament of Kenya documents. I obtained the information on candidates' ethnic identities and their layer mobilization choices from the research respondents listed in Appendix 4. Where possible, I used additional archival and media sources to corroborate all obtained data.

Part 1. National Assembly¹ constituency elections

No voting took place in 1963. Kenya had a one-party political system from 1983 to 1992. All election candidates during this period had to be members of the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

Year	Constituency	Candidate	Party	Superordinate ethnic identity	Subordinate ethnic identity	Mobilized layer of ethnicity	Votes
1963	Marsabit-Moyale	Galgalo Godana	Independent	Gabbara	Gar	NA	NA
	Rendille	Elisha Daniel Godana	Independent	Burji	Qadado	NA	NA
1966 (by-election)	Marsabit South	Philip Kurungu	KANU	Rendille	Saale	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
1969	Marsabit North	Alex Isako Umuro	KANU	Gabbara	Galbo	Subordinate	1,619
		Galgalo Godana	<i>Unknown</i>	Gabbara	Gar	Subordinate	769
	Marsabit South	Mohamed Kholkholle Adichareh	KANU	Rendille	Galdeeylan	Subordinate	936
		Philip Kurungu	KANU	Rendille	Saale	Subordinate	250
Moyale	Osman Araru Abajillo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	1,288	
	Molu Debasso	KANU KANU	Borana Borana	Maxxarrii Karrayyuu	Subordinate Subordinate	720 71	
1974	Marsabit North	Elisha Daniel Godana	KANU	Burji	Qadado	Superordinate	1,799

¹ Unicameral Parliament of Kenya from 1966 to 2013 and the lower house of Parliament from 1963 to 1966 and since 2013.

		Alex Isako Umuro	KANU	Gabbra	Galbo	Subordinate	1,721
		Jarso Jillo (J. J.) Falana	KANU	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	1,601
		Galgalo Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	710
		Haro Tulu Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	153
		Ahamed O. Bachu	KANU	Indian		NA	42
	Marsabit South	Mohamed Kholkholle Adichareh	KANU	Rendille	Galdeeylan	Subordinate	2,604
		Mark Kawab Bulyaar	KANU	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	1,649
	Moyale	Mohamed Osman Said	KANU	Barawani		NA	1,739
		Osman Araru Abajillo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	1,640
		Guyo Halake Liban	KANU	Borana	Dambituu	Subordinate	1,348
		Hassan J. Galgalo	KANU	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1,084
		Abdi Bando Nawe	KANU	Burji	Gamayo	Superordinate	143
1979	Marsabit North	Alex Isako Umuro	KANU	Gabbra	Galbo	Superordinate	7,319
		Jarso Jillo (J. J.) Falana	KANU	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	4,118
		Elisha Daniel Godana	KANU	Burji	Qadado	Superordinate	1,719
		Mark Kawab Bulyaar	KANU	Rendille	Dubsahay	Superordinate	9
	Marsabit South	Mohamed Kholkholle Adichareh	KANU	Rendille	Galdeeylan	Subordinate	3,444
		Joseph Ilo Aritei	KANU	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	1,306
		Robert Iltaramatwa Kochalle	KANU	Rendille	Saale (Uroowen)	Subordinate	634
	Moyale	Guyo Halake Liban	KANU	Borana	Dambituu	Subordinate	6,147
		Osman Araru Abajillo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	1,488
		Mohamed Osman Said	KANU	Barawani		NA	423
		Hussein Sora Arero	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	64

1983	Marsabit North	Abdikadir Yatani Boru	KANU	Gabbra	Algana	Superordinate	6,957
		Jillo Jarso (J. J.) Falana	KANU	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	4,024
		Galgalo Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	<i>Unknown</i>	249
Marsabit South	Mohamed Kholkholle Adichareh	KANU	Rendille	Galdeeylan	Subordinate	2,673	
	Joseph Ilo Aritei	KANU	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	2,555	
Moyale	Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	2,650	
	Hassan J. Galgalo	KANU	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	2,429	
	Mohamed Sheikh	KANU	Barawani		NA	1,657	
	Guyo Halake Liban	KANU	Borana	Dambituu	Subordinate	1,276	
	Osman Araru Abajillo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	714	
1988	Laisamis	Samuel Nton-toi Bulyaar	KANU	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	2,840
		Mohamed Kholkholle Adichareh	KANU	Rendille	Galdeeylan	Subordinate	2,833
Moyale	Philip Galma Godana	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	5,213	
	Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	4,800	
North Horr	Bonaya Adhi Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	3,264	
	Abdikadir Yatani Boru	KANU	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	1,609	
Saku	Jillo Jarso (J. J.) Falana	KANU	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	5,941	
	D. W. Gurach	KANU	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	2,462	
1992	Laisamis	Robert Itaramatwa Kochalle	KANU	Rendille	Saale (Uroowen)	Subordinate	6,273
		Sokotey Seye	Democratic Party of Kenya (DPK)	Rendille	Rongumo	Subordinate	734
		Joseph Ilo Aritei	Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) - Asili	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	12

	Moyale	Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	7,650
		Hussein Sora Arero	FORD - Asili	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	4,904
		Wachu B. Chachole	FORD - Kenya	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	0
		Osman Araru Abajillo	DPK	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	0
	North Horr	Bonaya Adhi Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	5,360
		Abdikadir Yatani Boru	DPK	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	859
		Mohassan Abdikadir Shariff Abo	FORD - Asili	Arab		Subordinate	1
	Saku	Jillo Jarso (J. J.) Falana	KANU	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	5,726
		Halakhe Dida Waqo	<i>Unknown</i>	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	1,831
		Matthew Loltome	FORD - Kenya	Rendille	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	1,238
		Said Wabera	DPK	Gabbra	Gar	Superordinate	321
		Denge Garucha	FORD - Asili	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	140
		M. Said	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	Burji	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	0
1997	Laisamis	Robert Itaramatwa Kochalle	KANU	Rendille	Saale (Uroowen)	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
	Moyale	Guracha Boru Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	11,102
		Qalicha D. Elema	FORD - Kenya	Borana	Digaluu	Subordinate	4,244
		Osman Araru Abajillo	DPK	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	1,348
		Ali Issak Ibrahim	Safina	Somali	Garre	Subordinate	82
	North Horr	Bonaya Adhi Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	5,406
		Wario Huqa Ali	National Development Party of Kenya	Gabbra	Galbo	Subordinate	2,441

	Saku	Abdi Tari Sasura	KANU	Borana	Dambituu	Subordinate	6,737
		Danso Barako Guyo	DPK	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	Subordinate	3,138
2002	Laisamis	Titus Lemusei Ngoyoni	KANU	Rendille	Saale (Gabana)	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Abdi Mohamud Mbirikany	FORD	Ariaal / Samburu	Ong'eli	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Abdi Ngurusi	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	Rendille	Saale	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
	Moyale	Guracha Boru Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	NARC	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Mohammed Mahmud Ali (Abshiro)	FORD	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
	North Horr	Bonaya Adhi Godana	KANU	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Elema Issako Fila	NARC	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
	Saku	Abdi Tari Sasura	KANU	Borana	Dambituu	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Jillo Jarso (J. J.) Falana	NARC	Borana	Maxxaarii	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
		Abdulrazak Rageh Haji	Safina	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
		Hussein Kochore Leripen	Social Democratic Party of Kenya	Rendille	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Ali Salesa Tumalo	Kenya Social Congress	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Ibrahim Gollo Woche	FORD	Burji	Goda	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
2006 (by-elections)	Laisamis	Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton	KANU	Ariaal / Samburu	Lorogushu	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Mary Loiriiri Ngoyoni	NARC - Kenya	Rendille	Saale	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Kureya Esintele	Liberal Democratic Party	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
	Moyale	Malla Wario Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	NARC	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Adan Wachu Chachole	NARC - Kenya	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>

	North Horr	Ukur Yatani Kanacho	NARC - Kenya	Gabbra	Gar	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Sarah Talaso Godana	KANU	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Subordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Isacko Galgalo	NARC	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
	Saku	Hussein Tari Sasura	NARC - Kenya	Borana	Dambituu	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Halakhe Dida Waqo	KANU	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
		Christopher Galgalo Ali (Abbakola)	NARC	Wayyu (Waa-ta)		Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Alexander Barilleh Abduba	FORD -People	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Galgalo Wario Umuro	New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
		Abdulrazak Rageh Haji	Safina	Rendille	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	<i>Unknown</i>
2007	Laisamis	Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton	KANU	Ariaal / Sam-buru	Lorogushu	Superordinate	10,001
		Abubakar Godana Hargura	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	Rendille	Saale (Gob-anai)	Subordinate	7,189
		Mary Loiriiri Ngoyoni	NARC - Kenya	Rendille	Saale	Subordinate	277
	Moyale	Mohammed Mahmud Ali (Abshiro)	ODM	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	9,638
		Abdalla Chachu Tadicha	FORD - Kenya	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	7,286
		Malla Wario Galgalo	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	5,411
		Ibrahim Dambi Wario	ODM – Kenya	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	276
		Ibrahim Gollo	Safina	Burji	Goda	Superordinate	70
		Woche					
		Bacho Abdi Roba	Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KNDA)	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	18
		Mohamed Malicha Galgalo	Daraja Ya Wakenya Party				
		Halima Daro Shinke	Chama Cha Mwananchi (CCM)	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	17
				Burji	Halaka	Superordinate	8
	North Horr	Francis Chachu Ganya	ODM	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	8,908

		Ukur Yatani Kanacho Isacko Galgalo Mamo	Party of National Unity (PNU) ODM - Kenya	Gabbra Gabbra	Gar <i>Unknown</i>	Subordinate Subordinate	7,179 969
	Saku	Hussein Tari Sasura	ODM - Kenya	Borana	Dambituu	Superordinate	4,913
		Jillo Jarso (J. J.) Falana	ODM	Borana	Maxxaarii	Superordinate	4,080
		Halakhe Dida Waqo	KANU	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	3,215
		Mohammad Adan Safe Hussein	CCM Safina	Burji <i>Unknown</i>	Yaabbi	Superordinate <i>Unknown</i>	1,692 66
		Sheikh Adams Alexander Barilleh Abduba	KNDA	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	44
2013	Laisamis	Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton	ODM	Ariaal / Sam-buru	Lorogushu	Superordinate	8,894
		David Lemeryan Timado	The National Alliance (TNA)	Rendille	Dubsahay	Subordinate	3,031
		Andrew Lesungur Lenguro	United Republican Party (URP)	Ariaal / Sam-buru	Ong'eli	Subordinate	2,843
		Peter Lytinga Lkayo	Wiper Democratic Movement - Kenya	Rendille	Saale	Subordinate	2,627
		Aaron Iltele Lesiantam	FORD - Kenya	Ariaal / Sam-buru	Ong'eli	Subordinate	58
	Moyale	Roba Sharu Duba	United Democratic Forum Party (UDFP)	Borana	Noonituu	Subordinate	12,497
		Guyo Waqo Jaldesa	TNA	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	11,877
		Did Peter Boru	URP	Borana	Maxxarii	Subordinate	3,814
		Abdikadir Shariff	FORD - Kenya	Somali	Asharaf	Subordinate	2,987
		Siad Alio Ibrahim	ODM	Somali	Garre	Subordinate	1,679
		Bacho Abdi Roba	Wiper	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	595
	North Horr	Francis Chachu Ganya	ODM	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	12,710

		Galgalo Bonaya Huri	URP	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Subordinate	7,859
	Saku	Ali Rasso Dido	URP	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Superordinate	8,560
		Jama Wolde Weisa	ODM	Burji	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	5,064
		Hussein Tari Sasura	TNA	Borana	Dambituu	Superordinate	3,514
		Peter Ilpirayon Leruk	Kenya National Congress Party (KNC)	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	862
		Hassan Wako Jarso	UDFP	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	83
2017	Laisamis	Arbelle Marselino Malimo	Jubilee Party	Rendille	Rongumo	Subordinate	12,607
		Joseph Lama-solai Lekuton	Frontier Alliance Party (FAP)	Ariaal / Sam-buru	Lorogushu	Superordinate	8,621
	Moyale	Qalicha Gufu Wario	Jubilee Party	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Subordinate	15,094
		Roba Sharu Duba	FAP	Borana	Noonituu	Subordinate	12,448
		Guyo Waqo Jaldesa	KANU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	7,820
		Tafara Ababa Chanasa	PNU	Borana	Karrayyuu	Subordinate	4,799
		Hassan Billow Issack	Economic Freedom Party	Somali	Garre	Subordinate	3,068
		Ali Mohamed Sharamo	ODM	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	393
	North Horr	Francis Chachu Ganya	FAP	Gabbra	Algana	Subordinate	11,129
		Adhe Wario Guyo	KANU	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	8,500
		Wario Dulacha Diba	Jubilee Party	Gabbra	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	2,715
		Peter Koriye Akol	NARC - Kenya	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	924
		Peter Molu Ibrae	PNU	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	510
	Saku	Ali Rasso Dido	Jubilee Party	Borana	Warrajiddaa	Superordinate	13,484
		Nuria Golo Halake	FAP	Wayyu (Waa-ta)		Superordinate	5,013

	Hussein Tari Sasura	NARC - Kenya	Borana	Dambituu	Superordinate	2,906
	Joseph Halkano Galgalo	Maendeleo Chap Chap (MCC)	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	413

Part 2. National Assembly Woman Representative elections

Year	Candidate	Party	Superordinate ethnic identity	Subordinate ethnic identity	Mobilized layer of ethnicity	Votes
2013	Nasra Ibrahim Ibren	ODM	Somali	Garre	Superordinate	42,906
	Naomi Jillo Waqo	TNA	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	20,364
	Kureya Esintele	URP	Rendille	Dubsahay	Superordinate	14,775
	Nuria Gollo Halake	Mazingira	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	4,628
	Christiana Saiti Louwa	FORD – Kenya	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	3,127
	Isako D. Umuro	NARC	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	2,063
	Khadija Mohamed Halake	UDFP	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	859
	Habiba Amina Haro	KNC	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	555
2017	Safia Sheikh Adan	Jubilee Party	Somali	Garre	Superordinate	40,399
	Nasra Ibrahim Ibren	FAP	Somali	Garre	Superordinate	34,049
	Elizabeth Pantoren	KANU	Ariaal / Samburu	Ong'eli	Superordinate	19,598
	Christine Koreya Seyere	MCC	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	8,746
	Amina Guyo Halake	ODM	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	3,630
	Bernadetta Okotu	PNU	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	1,121
	Shama					
	Farhiya Yarow Abdi	DPK	<i>Unknown</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	671

Part 3. Senate² elections

No voting took place in 1963.

Year	Candidate	Party	Superordinate ethnic identity	Subordinate ethnic identity	Mobilized layer of ethnicity	Votes
1963	Sora Ali Galgalo	Independent	Borana	Karrayyuu	NA	NA
2013	Abubakar Godana Har-gura	ODM	Rendille	Saale (Gob-anai)	Superordinate	54,213
	Mohamed Hussein Gabbow	URP	Somali	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	35,145
2017	Abubakar Godana Har-gura	ODM	Rendille	Saale (Gob-anai)	Superordinate	54,997
	Segelan John Loto	URP	Rendille			40,916
	Abagaro Galgalo Wako	KANU	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	10,406
	Wato Mohamed Adan	ODM	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	2,074

² The upper house of Kenya's parliament, abolished in 1966 and reestablished in 2013.

Part 4. Gubernatorial elections

Year	Candidate	Party	Superordinate ethnic identity	Subordinate ethnic identity	Mobilized layer of ethnicity	Votes
2013	Ukur Yatani Kanacho	ODM	Gabbra	Gar	Superordinate	48,491
	Mohammed Mahmud Ali (Abshiro)	URP	Borana	Karrayyuu	Superordinate	34,829
	Abdalla Chachu Tadicha	KANU	Borana	Warrajjiddaa	Superordinate	6,204
2017	Mohammed Mahmud Ali (Abshiro)	Jubilee Party	Borana	Karrayyuu	Superordinate	53,855
	Ukur Yatani Kanacho	FAP	Gabbra	Gar	Superordinate	46,123
	Umuro Sora Adano	KANU	Gabbra	Algana	Superordinate	6,061
	Ibrahim Dambi Wario	ODM	Borana	<i>Unknown</i>	Superordinate	321