SOCIETY, SCHOOLS AND PROGRESS
IN
KENYA

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

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Department of Education

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Date May, 2, 1973.
Reasons

The groundwork for this study was established between 1955 and 1964 when the writer was employed as an expatriate Education Officer in Kenya. This was a period which covered the final years of colonialism, internal self-government, final Independence, and the formal beginning of the Republic of Kenya.

The writer's first appointment was to the Teacher Training College at Meru in the Central Province, prior to helping to set up the Government Secondary School in adjacent premises belonging to the Intermediate School. Later, completely new premises were designed and built for the secondary school, which had been in full operation for one year before the writer was transferred to the Government Teacher Training College at Kagumo on the western side of Mount Kenya. This was a larger college with a wider range of students. As head of the Mathematics Department, and one of the senior members of the college staff, the writer was responsible for the arrangement and supervision of much of the practical teaching experience of two hundred students in schools from primary to secondary level.

It was only after some three or four years in Kenya that the writer became aware of the complete absence of relevance of the whole educational system to local and traditional social or economic structures.

Even in the matter of teaching primary arithmetic, no attempt was made to incorporate local number concepts, and the skill of the
children in learning by rote, and extensive memorising covered up the lack of understanding of fundamental concepts. A tentative study of tribal number systems—as yet unpublished—led to further study, at U.B.C. in anthropology in an attempt to relate what had been achieved in the field of education in Kenya with what might have been achieved, had colonial educators and administrators been more aware of their African charges as tribal individuals and groups.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to consider:

1. The effects of colonial influence on the social structure, education and economic structure of the many and varied tribal groups of Kenya.
2. The extent to which these effects are reversible if considered to be undesirable for the future development of the country.
3. The extent to which such effects are considered to be desirable and advantageous to the future development of independent Kenya.
4. The extent to which traditional values, perhaps long neglected under colonial and missionary influence, may yet be incorporated into the social, educational and economic structures of an identifiable national Kenya.

Format

The study will be divided into three separate, but closely related sections:

1. Society
2. Education.


Each section will follow the same basic pattern, and to the extent that all three sections are related and interdependent, treatment will be cyclical, and to some extent, repetitive:

(a) The traditional structure, organisation and function.
(b) The immediate effects of colonialisation.
(c) The persistent effects of colonialisation.
(d) The present situation.
(e) Future trends.

Detail

Since the Kikuyu represent the largest single tribal unit in Kenya, and also the most closely associated with, and directly influenced by the early European missionaries and administrators, examples of traditional structures and practices will be of Kikuyu origin.

Ethnography of many of the tribes of Kenya is limited and not readily available, but the Kikuyu life-style has been clearly and comprehensively detailed by Jomo Kenyatta—presently, His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Republic of Kenya—in his book "Facing Mount Kenya"! which has been used extensively for reference.
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INTRODUCTION

THE COUNTRY

The Republic of Kenya is situated on the east coast of Africa. Stretching from 5 degrees North to 5 degrees South, it is bisected by the Equator, and extends from the eastern shores of Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. It has a total area of 224,000 square miles which includes 5,171 square miles of water and vast expanses of arid scrub and desert, so that less than one-quarter of the land is of actual or potential agricultural value. Ten per cent of the land is affected by the tsetse fly.

From the coastal plain, which ranges from two to ten miles in width, the land rises sharply to the hinterland mountains. Mount Kenya, which dominates the surrounding country, rises from its foothills to a height of 17,058 feet, with glaciers between its twin main peaks and in the valleys of adjacent prominences. To the west of Mount Kenya lies the Aberdare Range of over 11,000 feet, with its highest points in the peaks of Satima and Kinangop reaching heights of 13,104 and 12,816 feet respectively. Further to the west, in the Rift Valley, are the extinct volcanic peaks of Longonot and Suswa of 9,111 and 7,732 feet, and close to the Uganda border Mount Elgon reaches a height of 14,178 feet.

The Rift Valley is from thirty to forty miles wide as it cuts

1 cf. United Kingdom: 93,053 square miles; France: 207,076 square miles; Manitoba: 246,512 square miles; Texas: 267,339 square miles.
VEGETATION AREAS OF KENYA

- Desert
- Semi-desert
- Bush-land
- Forest
- Swamp
- Savannah - Grassland

Map showing vegetation areas of Kenya with regions labeled Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Lake Victoria, Tanzania, and the Indian Ocean.
through the interior of Kenya, and some 2,000 to 3,000 feet below the surrounding countryside. Between Naivasha and Nakuru—about one hundred miles north-east of Nairobi—the floor of the valley is 6,000 feet above sea level, with the saline Lakes Elementeita and Nakuru at about 5,800 feet, and the fresh-water Lake Naivasha at 6,150 feet.

Climate

Many of these topographical features provide sharp climatic contrasts with their immediate surroundings, giving rise to purely local variations in temperature and rainfall. For example, on the eastern slopes of Mount Kenya, irrigated by countless mountain streams and with evaporation inhibited by dense foliage, lush tropical forests overlook the dry, sun-baked lowland plains of Tharaka. To the north-east, in the Nyambene Range, dense rain forest flourishes within a few miles of the semi-desert of Isiolo. It is thus difficult to generalise about the climate or vegetation of Kenya.

Kenya has a mean temperature of 26.1 degrees Centigrade, with considerable variation between the coastal areas and the interior highlands, where there are frequent frosts above the 7,000 feet level. There is also great variation in the amount and seasonal distribution of rainfall. Although the major part of a normal annual total falls during the 'long' rains between March and May, with the remainder falling in the 'short' rains from October to December, there are frequent seasonal droughts and floods. In western Kenya, near the shores of Lake Victoria rains are more nearly continuous throughout the year, with only a slightly
greater fall between March and September. At the coast the rains reach their peak in May.

In several parts of the country there are also protracted periods of cool, misty weather with low clouds over the mountain ranges. At such times the rain falls in the form of a persistent drizzle. At other times it may exceed one inch an hour, and create miniature torrents along the roadsides. Previously dry drifts suddenly become rushing rivers, with sufficient force to sweep cars from the road and deposit them several yards downstream before the drivers are aware of the danger.

Thus, in spite of its symmetrical distribution about the Equator, there is little of the 'typical' equatorial climate in Kenya. Seventy-two per cent of the country receives less than twenty inches of rain in four out of five years, and only three per cent expects to receive more than fifty inches over a similar period. Low retention of rainfall in the soil, rapid evaporation from the surface, and rapid run-off reduce the value of rain to the farmer. Erosion is a serious problem, and red soil from the high lands of the interior colours the waters of the Indian Ocean for many miles from the mouths of the two main rivers. Because of the configuration of the foothills of Mount Kenya, much of the rainfall is carried away by rapidly-flowing mountain streams along the deep valleys, the steep slopes of which represent most of the cultivable land available to the Kikuyu and associated tribes of Meru and Embu. Terracing is essential for soil conservation but presents problems in irrigation. Water may be diverted from streams at the
higher levels through 'furrows' about two feet wide and nine to twelve inches deep, to irrigate adjacent gardens before being re-directed back into the stream, but this is a slow and unreliable method. It can only succeed where there is cooperation between neighbours and consideration for the needs of others. Fortunately these are characteristics of most of the peoples of Kenya, developed, no doubt, to meet the needs for survival in this demanding country.

In spite of all the difficulties, the agricultural peoples of Kenya have managed to produce subsistence crops with a small surplus for sale or exchange at the local markets, whilst pastoralists have followed paths of seasonal migration in search of water and grazing for their animals.

**Wildlife**

Geographic and climatic conditions in Kenya support a wide variety of wildlife.

Protected game parks provide subsistence for more than forty major species of animals which include elephant, rhino, buffalo, lion, leopard, cheetah, hyena, jackal, wild dog, hippo, crocodile, baboon, and a multitude of deer, antelope and buck. Many animals have, however, died in the game parks in time of drought. Such is the very nature of life in Kenya.

Forests—particularly in the Meru area—are among the world's most prolific breeding grounds for innumerable varieties of butterflies, and Bolton\(^1\) lists 180 different species of birds which may be found in the

forests, on the plains, and along the shores of the lakes of Kenya. Mountain streams have been stocked with trout for the sports fisherman who may also find much larger game fish in the waters of the lakes of the Northern Province and off the coast at Mombasa. Native fishermen, equipped with goggles and snorkle, spear a wide variety of edible fish in the shallows between the reef and the shore, and periodic shoals of smaller fish cast themselves up close to the shore where they may be gathered by the boatload and basketful.
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING ORIGINAL MIGRATION ROUTES

SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

INTER-LAKES RIFT VALLEY

NILE-HAMITES

LAKE RUGOLPO

KIKUYU-

MERU

EMBU

KAMBARA

HIGHLAND BANTU

COASTAL BANTU

INDIAN OCEAN

YANZANIA

BRITISH EAST AFRICA

SOMALIA

SOMALALIA

TANGANYIKA

AFRICA

KALIMANTAN

INDONESIA

JAVA

SOLO

SULAWESI
CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

Kenya accommodates a multiplicity of tribes, speaking a variety of languages, and following a variety of occupations.¹

Although half of its total area—in the Northern Province—accommodates only one-thirtieth of the total population of the country, and Nyanza Province accommodates one-third of the population in only one-twentieth of the total area of the country, mean density over the whole of Kenya is 42.6 persons to the square mile. Of the total population almost ten million—94.8 per cent—live in rural areas.

Past migrations from the north, west and south have brought together within the boundaries of Kenya tribes and sub-tribes differing in colour, language, occupation and customs.

In colour, the inhabitants of Kenya range from the light coffee-coloured Somali to the intense black of the Bantu, and include the reddish-brown of the Masai, whose colour may be accentuated by the ochre which they use as a hair-dressing. There is also variation in general stature from the short, stocky build of the Bantu tribes to the taller, slender Masai and Somali pastoralists.

Tribal differences may be emphasised by traditional markings in the form of cicatrix, filed or excised teeth, hair-styles, and distended ear-

¹ See Chapter 9 for further development.
lobes. In the absence of pockets—or, in some cases, the complete absence of clothing—the ear-lobe provides a convenient carrying-place for a snuff box or similar article of value.\(^1\) When not actually in use the distended lobe may be turned back and wound round the main part of the ear. For similar reasons of convenience, the smaller copper coins of Kenya have holes in the centre so that they may be carried around the neck, bead-fashion. Anyone wealthy enough to possess silver coins or paper money might well be expected to have pockets in which to carry them. The use of paper currency has also created problems for many people who have no safe storage place at home and do not customarily utilise the services of banks, and it is not unusual in some areas for school fees to be paid in notes partially eaten by termites.

Many Kenyans today have adopted western-style dress, and some of them—particularly prosperous urban workers and politicians—maintain a dual standard. When leaving town, they change into a form of traditional dress which will enable them to identify more readily with relatives or constituents. For those rural people who are not wealthy enough to purchase new clothing, army surplus items provide an alternative to customary clothing. Greatcoats, jackets and trousers—especially those which have been patched with squares of brightly coloured cloth—are popular garments for many of the older men. Store blankets provide an acceptable form of cover for individuals of both sexes as replacements for traditional hide or woven garments, and many of the women achieve decorative effects by draping symmetrically-patterned tablecloths, sarong-fashion, as skirts.

\(^1\) C. Cagnolo *The Akikuyu*, p.94, 95, 102.
Others still retain identifying traditional costume—the red-tanned skins or ochred blankets of the Masai, the bead necklaces and long leather skirts of the Boran women, and the shorter white, fibre skirts of the Giriama. At the coast may also be seen the fully-covered black-robed women of the Muslims, and in the far north-west the completely naked Karamejong. In many parts of the country, children below school age may dispense with clothing completely, but are very proud of their first school uniforms, which usually consist of khaki shorts and shirts for the boys and a khaki dress for the girls. The school is identified by means of coloured tapes sewn on to the pocket of the shirt or dress. Because of the poverty of so many parents, such uniform may be required to last for several years, so it is not unusual to see small, primary school boys and girls wearing clothing several sizes too large, and as many older children in patched and worn garments which are nearing the end of their useful life.

Food, too, is subject to traditional variation, and one of the problems which has been faced by coaches of Kenya's many fine athletes has been that of persuading them to accept a more suitable diet. Students in boarding schools frequently have difficulty in adjusting to food which has not been prepared in the traditional fashion, and one of the criteria of a satisfying meal is that it should fill the stomach to capacity. Farmers generally exist on the products of their harvests, usually making a porridge of ground seeds or grain. Meat is scarce in the diet of most Kenyans. Pastoralists regard their herds as a form of mobile wealth, a source of bride-payments for their sons, a viable medium for establishing
social relationships, and only lastly as a source of food, in the form of meat. As food, the animal provides milk or blood, and only on rare ceremonial occasions or for sacrifice is its flesh consumed.

It is not unusual for school children to leave home early in the morning after a breakfast of porridge, prepared by their mother at daybreak before leaving for her work in the fields, then to face a long walk to school and a full day of school work followed by the return walk home for their second, and final meal of the day.

Tribal Divisions

Several characteristics have been suggested at various times as appropriate criteria for separating primitive peoples into identifiable 'tribes'. Among these criteria were physical appearance, language, cultural traits and customs, but perhaps the most satisfactory definition of a tribe is that suggested by Sutton: "A tribe is a tribe because it feels like one." This definition may confuse strict anthropologists and make it much more difficult to provide neat pigeonholes of categorisation, but there can be little doubt that people have the right to determine their own identification and loyalties.

Such loyalties are clearly defined in Kenya today, and one of the problems to be faced by the present government is that of directing and extending local tribal loyalties to strengthen national identity as Kenyans. Sutton's definition might then be paraphrased, "A nation is a nation because it feels like one."

1 J.E.G. Sutton in Zamani p.77
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING APPEXIMATE TRIBAL AREAS

SUDAN

TURKANA

GABLUCCA

EITIOPIA

GABBRA

KAARMAJONG

POKOT

MARAKWE

SAMBURU

LUHYA

NARAKWE

SAMIA

NUNDA

KIPSIGIS

GUSII

LUO

KURIA

MASAI

TUGEN

MERU

KIKUYU

KAMBA

TAITA

TAVETA

GALLA

POKOMO

DIO

SOMIALI REPUBLIC

SOMALI

UHURU

TURI

KILIMANJARO

INDIAN OCEAN

DURUMA

RABAI

BONKABA

MUTOMBE

KUNYIGA
Associations may exist between tribes for their mutual advantage, and a necessary function of such associations is that their members be able to communicate with each other. This aspect may serve to justify the suggestion that language provides a more functional basis for tribal classification than any other single factor.

This is a factor which has been utilised to assemble groups of tribes into viable bodies for administrative purposes, and to provide a feeling of identity in a country where tribal numerical superiority becomes an important factor in representational government and the distribution of national wealth. Such an association has resulted in the assembly of the Kalenjin group of peoples consisting of the Pokot, Pok, Sebei, Kony, Marakwet, Elgeyo, Tugen, Nandi and Kipsigis.

Although the Meru and Embu tribes have frequently been associated with the Kikuyu, and can understand each other's languages, they still regard themselves as separate tribes—partly because of geographical separation enforced by the bulk of Mount Kenya, and partly because they 'feel separate'.

Boundaries

Before the advent of Europeans, there were no formal frontiers between the tribal groups of East Africa. Boundaries existed by usage, and in many cases tribes with different needs of the land existed peaceably in the same general area. Occasional cattle raids caused temporary disagreements supported by displays of warrior strength, but avenues of trade were still kept open by customary arrangements of recognised trade routes and market places. Between the Kikuyu and Masai, trade for items
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

SUDAN
GAINED FROM SUDAN 1961

ETHIOPIA BOUNDARY
AMENDMENTS 1949

BOUNDARY WITH ETHIOPIA 1907

Uganda
GAINED FROM UGANDA 1962

GERMAN EAST AFRICA
APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY WITH

TANZANIA

PRESENT BOUNDARY
(1973)
essential to both was carried on by the women even when their men-folk were engaged in warfare.

At this time, Kenya was part of an amorphous area known as East Africa, an equally amorphous part of the whole of Africa inside its extensive coastline. Few countries were delineated by 'official' boundaries. The partition of Africa by the European countries divided up this vast area into 'spheres of influence'—again somewhat amorphous—to be administered as convenient to the colonial powers. Thus, in Kenya, the activities of the colonial power gradually extended from the coast as the railway progressed from the coast, as missionaries extended their explorations into the interior, and as traders and economic adventurers wandered further afield in search of profitable ventures.

It then became necessary to reach agreements on boundaries with neighbouring territories. British East Africa became a geographical entity in 1885, and the boundaries with German East Africa were settled and adjusted between 1886 and 1893. Queen Victoria made one adjustment to the boundary in order to make a present of Mount Kilimanjaro to the Kaiser on the occasion of his birthday. Another was made when approximately one thousand square miles of territory was transferred to the East African Protectorate in 1902, and then a further five hundred square miles was transferred in 1926. In 1907, by agreement with the government of Ethiopia, the northern boundary between the Protectorate and that country was established until minor modifications were made forty years later to set up the present frontier. The East African Protectorate was officially renamed the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya in
KIKUYU/MASAI BOUNDARIES

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MASAI RAISING ROUTES

MASAI BOUNDARIES

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MERU, EMBU + CHUKA

KIKUYU

SEPARATE HUNTING/GATHERING BANDS

Taita etc: Tribal Areas
1920, the Protectorate being the Coastal Strip which was leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar. Then, in 1924, by agreement with the Italian government, the territory of Jubaland was transferred to Somaliland. This arrangement moved the eastern boundary of the colony inland from the banks of the Guiba River to the line of the forty-first meridian East from approximately 1 degree South to 3 degrees North. Minor modifications were made to the northern boundaries between Kenya and Ethiopia and Kenya and the Sudan to establish divisions confirmed by land survey, and to delineate the territory which is now the Republic of Kenya.

Some of these boundary changes split tribes between neighbouring countries, with consequent difficulties in administration—particularly in census-taking—and until as recently as 1969, the Karapokot area of Kenya had been administered by the government of Uganda. Tribal loyalties are generally too strong to be broken by the insertion of national boundaries into tribal territories. The unity of the tribe is a complex of many factors, based upon centuries of development and a combination of several minor loyalties.

As an example, it may suffice at this point to examine the social and political organisation of the Kikuyu.

THE KIKUYU

The Kikuyu originally occupied tribal lands to the south and west of Mount Kenya, along the ridges between the mountain and the Aberdare Range, and southwards to the outskirts of Nairobi. Within this area

1 more correctly, aGikuyu, but Europeanised forms of tribal names will be used throughout this paper.
lived three sub-tribes—the Metume of Fort Hall, numbering 300,355; the Karura of Kiambu, 251,884; and the Gakii of Nyeri, 179,956. Including Kikuyu who had migrated to other areas at the time of the census, the combined total was 1,026,341, making this the largest tribe in Kenya.

Traditional life of the Kikuyu was organised under three separate headings: lineal, geographical, and socio-political.

The first of these divisions was lineal in that a full member of the tribe held a position of responsibility within his family and clan lineage. The second was geographically defined by the ridge on which the extended family maintained its homestead in contiguity with other families, senior members of which would act together to settle inter-family disputes. The third was age-oriented throughout the tribe and was determined by the member's date of initiation into tribal status. Full members of the various lineages and clans became liable for duty in the senior councils of the tribe, and their findings were announced by a nominated spokesman. There were no 'chiefs' in Kikuyu society.

**Lineal Structure**

The nuclear family, consisting of one man, his wife, and children of the marriage, existed as the basic unit of the lineal structure. This became the 'joint' family in cases where the man was wealthy enough to acquire more than one wife and built separate huts for each to occupy with her children. There was a strong bond between the mother and her own children, but not necessarily between children of the same father. 

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11948 Census.
and different wives. There was also a very close traditional bond between grandparents and grandchildren. Grandmother referred to her grandson as 'my husband' and to her granddaughter as 'my co-wife'; grandfather referred to his grandson as 'my equal' and to his granddaughter as 'my bride'. The first and second children of both sexes were customarily named for their grandparents in order to retain contact with the ancestral spirits. This relationship with the departed spirits terminated only on the death of the last male of the lineage. It was thus supremely important that a man should try to beget male children to retain this essential tribal link. Within the family the head was always referred to as 'baba'—'father'—by his own children and also by all members of their age-sets. Father's brothers and members of his age-set were also referred to as 'baba'.

Family units of common descent formed sub-clans, and by tracing descent to earlier generations formed clans, sub-tribes, and ultimately the whole tribe of Kikuyu.

Geographical Structure

Between Mount Kenya and the Aberdares, the land is formed into ridges between which run streams or rivers flowing from the catchment areas of the hills. On the slopes of these ridges the Kikuyu grazed his cattle, grew his crops of millet, and built his homestead.

In this polygynous society, each wife had her own hut which she occupied with her children, and the combined huts of all the wives of

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1 See p.15-16
2 See map facing.
one family head made up the residential unit of the 'homestead' or 'mocii'. The joint family, 'itura', was a cluster of mocii which may have been scattered across the countryside too loosely to be called a village in the accepted sense of the term. This unit usually consisted of the descendants of a common grandfather or, occasionally, great-grandfather, and ranged from 32 to 5,000 persons, with the mode being between 100 and 200.¹

During the Mau Mau period,² closely-aligned villages, surrounded by thorn fences or bamboo-staked ditches, were established by the colonial government as a security measure—partly for the protection of those Kikuyu who did not wholly support the movement, and partly for ease of supervision of pro-Mau Mau activities. This gave a new structure to Kikuyu villages which has remained in many areas.

Several itura combined to form a 'mwaki' or 'fire-unit' from which any homestead might obtain embers to re-kindle the family fire before having to resort to the use of fire-sticks. Several mwaki made up a 'riongo' or 'ridge'—a self-descriptive geographical unit, determined by the nature of the country—and a clan might occupy several ridges.

Socio-political Structure

By a series of initiation procedures and age qualifications, male members of the Kikuyu tribe became members of successively socially-oriented groups during the course of their lives.

² A militaristic movement originating among the Kikuyu which has been described as 'terrorist' or 'freedom-fighters' depending on the point of view of the writer. Its activities resulted in the declaration of a State of Emergency in Kenya in 1952.
The first took place in adolescence in a ceremony which included circumcision and the adoption of a new tribal name. From the status of 'youth' the young Kikuyu progressed through the successive stages of 'junior warrior', 'warrior', 'family head', 'judicial elder' and finally 'ritual elder'. Passage from one stage to the next, after initiation, depended on age and the establishment of a family. Only at the initiation stage could a youth gain entry to the authority and ritual of his tribe. If he could not face the pain of the traditional operation then he remained forever a child in the eyes of the rest of the tribe, and was thus automatically barred from marriage and the establishment of a family of his own. In times of inter-tribal war he remained at home with the womenfolk and old people.

Each age-set assumed the name of some important event which had occurred during the year of their initiation, e.g. 'famine' 'drought' 'locusts' and on one occasion, 'coronation'--'kirauni'-- and by means of these names much tribal history can be reconstructed. In some areas each age-set was divided into 'moieties' one of which acted in tribal councils whilst the other remained in an advisory capacity. Since the moieties changed positions only once every forty years, an adult male could spend the whole of his active life in the advisory sector of tribal affairs.

Each warrior group initiated at the same time remained together as a fighting unit and could also be called upon by the elders to act in

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1 The adoption of these new names often causes confusion in school registers and records. All Kikuyu children are named at birth, many receive baptismal names, and all initiates choose a tribal name. A student may thus change names twice during his school life.
1. Geographical units may cut across lineal units.
2. The age-grade system is tribe-wide.
3. Each geographical and lineal unit has its own council of nine senior members, each with its own spokesman.
4. Inter-unit disputes are settled by mutually-appointed councils of nine members. Decisions are reached unanimously by discussion, deferred pending further investigation, or referred to the next higher council.
5. There are no positions of individual authoritarian responsibility, and no overall ruler at any point in this society.
the capacity of a police force. The group selected one of its number as leader on the basis of his prowess in the initiation tests of skill, but once past the warrior stage, age was the only criterion for progress to successive grades. An age-set remained in the same category for six to eight years, and a man could only marry after fulfilling his service as a warrior.

When his eldest son had been initiated, the father became eligible in due course of time to proceed to the status of judicial elder, and when his senior wife had passed child-bearing age, he could become a ritual elder. In this capacity he was responsible for the religious affairs of his own family, and could be called upon to participate in the sacred duties of his tribe.¹

Organisation

Under each of the above headings, male members of the Kikuyu tribe acquired social and political responsibilities and membership in tribal councils.

Economic Structure

The traditional economic unit was the nuclear family, although the land it used was allocated by the head of the extended family. All land belonged to the tribe and could never be sold. It was the very source of the tribe's origin and its livelihood. This attitude towards tribal lands caused much confusion to Kikuyu who were later deprived of their lands by government order. They could not recognise the right

¹ See diagram on facing page.
of Europeans to alienate their land, and they themselves held no official
deeds acceptable in European courts. It was even more confusing when
many Kikuyu later became 'squatters', by courtesy of their employers, on
land which they regarded as theirs by hereditary right.

Each wife owned several goats to provide milk for herself and her
children, implements to cultivate her allotted plot of land, and simple
items of household furniture. On her death this property would pass
to her sons who could later endow their own wives with these essentials.

Men handled all aspects of cattle management and the heavy work
associated with breaking and clearing new land for cultivation. They
also cut and erected poles for new homes and for granaries. The women
plastered and thatched these structures. Until the colonial government
restricted Kikuyu movement further to the west, they had been clearing
and occupying new land at the rate of from ten to fifteen miles per
year. Curtailment of this movement reduced the amount of labour avail­
able to the menfolk, who thus became unemployable within the traditional
occupational structure, and consequently were available for employment
on the newly-created European farms.

This began a breakdown of traditional division of labour, since
men began to undertake tasks in European households which were customarily
done by women in their own society. As cooks, gardeners, and general
domestic servants they earned wages from which they could pay school
fees for their own and their brothers' children.
Political Structure

The family was the basic unit of the Kikuyu social and political system.

The joint family constituted the first council—'ndundu ya mocii'—with the father as its president. He also represented the family group at the next higher level, the village council—'kiama kia itora'—which was composed of the heads of several families, presided over by the senior elder. All elders of the district combined to form the 'ridge' council—'kiama kia riongo'—with the senior in age, and of acknowledged wisdom, as its president.

The general principle on which these councils worked was the restoration of peace and harmony within the immediate group with which that council was concerned.

At the lowest level of the council system, the case was heard by the nominated elders. Both sides presented their statements and supportive evidence before the council which then considered what it had heard. If further information was required to clarify the conflicting claims, the council would call for it. The unanimous decision of the council would be announced by the spokesman for the group. Failure to reach such a decision on the basis of the available evidence resulted in the case being transferred to the next higher level of council.

This was not a legally punitive system, although persistent offenders could be banished, or even killed, in order to maintain the harmony of the whole group. Warrior groups could be called upon to enforce these
final decisions. Banishment was equivalent to the death penalty in this harsh environment where the whole tribal structure depended on cooperation between individuals for their mutual survival.

Religion

The Kikuyu believed in a supreme single god—Ngai—with whom it was essential to maintain harmony, but whose concern was for the group rather than the individual member of the tribe. His blessing was invoked in times of tribal stress such as drought, famine, and plague, and at times of particular significance to the individual—birth, initiation, marriage and death. Although these latter events were of importance to the individual members of the tribe, they concerned Ngai only so far as they represented the entry of an individual into a tribal group. The infant at birth is entering the family, the initiate is entering the tribe, the prospective bride and groom are establishing the foundation of a new segment of the tribe, and the dead Kikuyu is joining the spirits of his ancestors. On all such occasions the blessing of Ngai is invoked by the ritual head of the family on behalf of the individual, since no single member of the tribe has the right to approach Ngai on his own behalf.

Sacrifices of supplication were carried out in a sacred place which was usually in the shade of the ‘mogomo’\(^1\). With prescribed ritual, an unblemished lamb was strangled by the ritual elder applying pressure to the fingers of two young children on the throat of the animal. The

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\(^1\) a parasitic growth of wild fig, prominent in most Kikuyu areas.
presence of the children was to emphasise the purity and innocence of all the participants, who later consumed the cooked flesh of the animal. It was considered a great honour for children to be selected for this role since it meant that they had been found worthy of recognition by the tribal elders, and through the children it brought honour to their parents. Jomo Kenyatta testifies to the efficiency of this ceremony when directed towards securing the cooperation of Ngai in sending rains to his people:

"I wish to put it on record that every rain ceremony that I have witnessed has very soon been followed by rain. It is not believed however, that the rain ceremony must always be successful. Should it fail, a clearly defined procedure is ready for use. Enquiry would be made into every detail of the ceremonial performance and perhaps some omission found. In any case the whole ritual would be repeated with special care until eventually rain came."¹

In cases where the desire for spiritual assistance was of a strictly individual nature—broken taboo, ritual uncleanness, or other personal affliction—appeal was made to the departed ancestors through the mediation of a medicine man whose task it was to determine which spirits had been offended, and the correct procedure for propitiation. The spirits of the departed were very much an integral part of traditional Kikuyu life, and in pursuit of the tribal philosophy of communal harmony it was the responsibility of ritual elders to maintain this relationship between present and past members of the tribe. The services of the medicine man were also sought if it was feared that some personal affliction was the result of the intervention of evil spirits invoked by witchcraft. Proponents of 'black' magic were deterred by being burned to death, or

¹ Facing Mount Kenya p.250.
crucified at a main crossroad.  

**Values**

Kikuyu traditional values emphasised the unity and importance of the family. Politeness and gentleness were esteemed qualities in all family relationships, combined with respect for the father and obedience to his authority. Loyalty to all groups to which the individual belonged was expected, and individualism and selfishness were deplored. Only during the period of initiation tests was there any acknowledgement of individual prowess, and thus only at that time was there any merit in demonstrating personal superiority.

**Education**

The primary concern of parents in educating their children lay in developing the above values, together with the correct attitudes and manners in role relationships. From their parents the children also learned how to tend their cattle and crops, the identification of wildlife in all its forms, woodcraft, and the special skills appropriate to their sex. Much of this information was given in the form of songs, lullabies and stories as well as by example. In the absence of written records, traditional lore and history were transmitted orally, and tested by question and answer.

Throughout the period of development from childhood to manhood the young Kikuyu were trained to adapt to their environment and society. With successive initiation into adult grades of tribal life, education

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1 Facing Mount Kenya p. 30k.  
2 See Chapter 5 for further development.
continued under the advice and guidance of more experienced elders, both 
male and female, for girls also had to be made aware of their full res­
ponsibilities, and much could also be learned by observation of ceremony 
and ritual.

Kenyatta describes the process of traditional education as "contin­
uing from the cradle to the grave," and at all times closely related to 
life as it must be lived.¹ He also suggests that:

"The ties of family and kinship, sex, and age-grouping ... form 
the basis of the whole structure of indigenous education. 
Unless the Western education in Africa can keep these bonds vital 
and strong it cannot be expected to mould the African in a way 
which will make him fit in his community on one hand and to estab­
lish good relations with the outside world on the other. If the 
African is to derive any benefit from Western education, his 
training should be directed to the strengthening of these basic 
relationships which are the foundation of moral sentiments and the 
means of building up character."²

and although these sentiments were expressed for the first time in 1938 
they could well form the basis of an educational philosophy for the 
country of which he is now President.

Conclusion

This brief outline of the traditional structure of the Kikuyu 
points to the difficulty facing the government of the country in any 
attempt to formulate an educational programme which may serve to meet 
these ends.

The Kikuyu represent the largest homogeneous group among the many 
tribes of Kenya, and there are almost as many different forms of social

² ibid. p.122-123.
and economic structures as there are tribes. An amalgamation of the major values and traditions of these varied peoples could produce a rich cultural heritage for a new nation.¹

¹ Further ethnographic material is suggested in the Bibliography.
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL CHANGE

In 1898, a young adventurer from Yorkshire, named John Boyes, entered Kikuyu territory with a small band of porters in search of food supplies for workers on the railway. He described the Kikuyu at that time as "... a wild-looking lot, with their bodies smeared all over with grease and red clay ... (who had) never seen a white man before."¹ Boyes' account of his dealings with the Kikuyu differs from that of Fr. C. Cagnolo, who describes Boyes as "... a Scotch adventurer who with a band of armed Waswahili had overrun the country like an invader, disseminating horror and death, usurping for himself the name of 'King of the Akikuyu' to the damage of the British crown."² The British government certainly considered Boyes' activities prejudicial to its best interests in the country, since he was later indicted on a charge of Dacoity³. He was acquitted of this charge because of conflicting interpretations of the available evidence—the judge apparently accepting Boyes' assertion that he was acting for the good of the Kikuyu. Nevertheless, he presents an account of Kikuyu life at a time when they were at the height of their traditional development in the early days of colonial influence. Boyes died in Nairobi in 1951 on land granted to him by the

¹ John Boyes, King of the Wakikuyu, p.72.
² Fr. C. Cagnolo, The Akikuyu, p.270.
³ "gang robbery" Concise Oxford Dictionary.
government in recognition of his later services.¹

Count Teleki, exploring on behalf of the German Lutheran Mission, had been the first European to pass through Kikuyu territory almost fifty years before Boyes arrived, and had expressed admiration for the neatness and productivity of their cultivated land. Teleki did not linger in the area because the Kikuyu were a fearsome people.

Since these early impressions of Teleki and Boyes, it is apparent that much has changed in the comparatively short period that has elapsed since the advent of colonial government in Kenya.

The territory is now politically independent; it has a centralised government based on the English parliamentary system, although its one-party format is more closely related to the traditional approach to the solution of communal problems; it has modern towns, and transport systems have been developed; and the economic life of many of the country's peoples has changed over the past seventy years.

The country itself has acquired a name and geographical identity.

**Early Misconceptions**

Many of the early difficulties of colonising and developing the territory of East Africa arose because of the lack of cultural contact between coloniser and colonised, and may be attributed to the following facts:

1. Explorers were not anthropologists, and although their

observations may have added background to later anthropological studies, their own primary interests were: (a) geographical, (b) religious, (c) commercial, (d) political.

2. Early administrators of the territory were not anthropologists either, although several of them also made valuable contributions to the ethnography of their areas of responsibility.

3. British explorers, administrators, traders, and missionaries came from Victorian England secure in their own knowledge of British superiority, and possessed of an assumed responsibility for the welfare of all 'savages'.

"No one had yet questioned the right of civilised men to develop the resources of the world and their long-term duty to teach primitive peoples the code of behaviour and scientific knowledge of the civilised world."

(Ingham refers to 'primitive peoples' above, but earlier accounts emphasise less euphemistic terms. Meinertzhagen, as quoted in Collins, refers to 'nigger' soldiers, 'nigger' police, and well-armed 'savages' and Eliot discusses 'the hybrid between the Arab and the negro' as having many excellent qualities, as if he were referring to livestock and not to human beings.)

4. Early European influence in East Africa as a whole arose from suppression of the slave trade, and to that extent, even an over-economical, benevolent administration may have appeared to the colonial authorities as a considerable improvement in the lot of the indigenous peoples.

Yet, in spite of this acceptance of the East Africans as savages, European administrators and traders appear to have credited those same 'savages' with some attributes of European culture in their dealings with them.

1 Kenneth Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda, p.211.
They assumed the 'right' of certain native 'authorities' to commit their lands and peoples to manipulation by 'treaties' and agreements. They also assumed that land-use meant the same to the African as to the European, and that use also implied ownership.

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO COLONIALISM IN KENYA**

Arab slave traders had made the first inroads into the territories of East Africa, and had established coastal trading posts long before the arrival of explorers from Europe. From their reports, some reconstruction of East African history has been possible, and from investigation of archeological remains further background has been added to these limited records. Trade appears to have centred on Kilwa, some four hundred miles south of the present site of Mombasa, and from that port the trade routes developed westwards to the shores of Lake Tanganyika and then north to Lake Victoria and Buganda. Thus, most of Kenya was by-passed even in the early days of contact from outside Africa.

Bethwell Ogot describes the East African Protectorate of pre-colonial times as "... nothing but a geographical expression."¹ and, geographically, what is now Kenya existed between the established Sultanate of Zanzibar with its sovereignty over the Coastal Strip, and the Kingdom of Buganda.

Kingdoms, as exemplified by Buganda to a limited extent, and Zanzibar more specifically, were readily identifiable by the British government as politically-independent units with which agreements could be made, and whose authorities could be supported to the mutual ad-

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¹ *Zamani*, p.256.
vantage of both parties. Professional diplomats were available to handle relations with the Sultanate, but the space between the coast and Uganda could not be identified in the same way, and consequently it necessitated a different form of treatment.

The Railway

The land which is now Kenya was then only an unidentified stretch of terrain over which the railway had to be built to connect the potentially profitable territory of Uganda with the available outlets at the coast.

In order to build the railway labour had to be made available, and for this purpose Indian 'coolie' labour was imported. Many of those who survived the hazards of disease and predatory lions later continued to work on the railway they had helped to build. Others became local traders and store-keepers and encourage relatives from India to join them in this new land. Kenya was for some time regarded as a potential Indian colony, but British control established the prior claims of settlers from European areas.

Missionary explorers had already travelled across much of the proposed route of the railway and had met with hostility from local tribes. It was feared that workers would also need to be protected from the more warlike of the African tribes, but it was at the same time necessary to obtain food supplies from these tribes. There were no kings nor overall chiefs with whom treaties could be concluded, so local arrangements had to be made as expeditiously as possible. Forts
were established along the route, staffed by officers of the British Army and recruits from the militant tribes of Tanganyika and the Congo as well as Swahili from the coast. Within the security offered by these arrangements, traders such as Boyes were able to make contact with local tribes.

Although the whole area of East Africa had been declared a Protectorate in 1895, the building of the railway was considered to be of greater importance than administration of the territory through which it ran, and governmental authority was exercised only in the immediate vicinity of the construction. Local arrangements were made for the maintenance of peace with neighbouring tribes so that the work might continue.

Uprisings by the Nandi, Embu, Gusii, Kipsigis, Gabras and Bukusu over a period from 1901 to 1907 were subdued by British military units supported by those tribes who chose to assist the colonial power for their own reasons.

Expediency and Accident

The railway had been built to connect Uganda with the coast of East Africa. Uganda itself had come under British influence and protection through the efforts of missionaries who had established themselves in the capital of the Kabaka. British forces had suppressed the mutiny of Sudanese soldiers occupying the country, and it was hoped that profitable trading contracts could be made between British interests and the Baganda.

To the south, in German East Africa, that colonial power had also
suppressed African opposition and was rapidly establishing a firm basis for profitable economic development of the territory.

In British East Africa, however, there was no such constructive policy at this time. Such development as eventually resulted arose through a series of geographical, historical and natural accidents and coincidences.

The original siting of the present capital city of Nairobi is one example of accidental expediency which had far-reaching effects on the major tribe of Kenya, the Kikuyu, and on the development of the country as a whole. The railway had finally been built over the rough and difficult ascent from the coast, and had reached a conveniently flat plateau on which a supply camp could be established before commencing the difficult descent into the Rift Valley, about forty miles to the north-west. Subsequent additions of stores and hotels built up the nucleus of the future city. Geographically, it is considered to be poorly situated in an area of partial swamp, and historically its establishment coincided with the latest arrivals of Kikuyu in their migration from the south and east, round Mount Kenya. When the staging-post became the administrative centre for up-country Kenya, under the protection of Fort Hall, the influx of settlers and their government impinged on the tribal territories of the Kikuyu, who thus became the tribe most to be affected by European influence. Largely because of their segmented social system, the Kikuyu were easily subdued by the new colonials—especially since they were in the process of recovering from epidemics which had de-populated the area and reduced their cattle.
As a result of these epidemics, much of the Kikuyu land appeared to be unused and unclaimed. Settlers were encouraged to move into the apparently unoccupied land and thus complete this phase of the cumulative misfortunes of the Kikuyu.

**Missions and Exploration**

Missionary activity in East Africa followed quickly after the abolition of slavery by the British government. Although Kenya had not been as seriously affected as Tanganyika by the trade in slaves, it provided an adequate setting at the coast for the establishment of a settlement for freed slaves. Reduction of this traffic in human beings also reduced the dangers to foreigners entering the country, and encouraged exploration by those who wished to establish new fields for their Christian teaching. Among these were the representatives of the S.C.M. Krapf and Rebmann, who arrived in 1844. In 1849, they announced their observation of snow on the peaks of Mount Kenya on the equator. This announcement was received with some scepticism in Europe, but was later confirmed by Teleki and Von Hohnel who were the first Europeans actually to visit the lands of the Kikuyu.

Following on reports by these and other early visitors to this agriculturally productive area of East Africa, the British Consul in Zanzibar was encouraged to point out the economic potential of the interior of Kenya. He was especially emphatic about the moderate climate and the apparently vast supply of African labour available. As a direct result of his optimism, the British East Africa Company was formed in 1890 to develop the economic potential of the colony. Their expectations were not
1888 to develop the economic potential of the colony. Their expectations were not fulfilled—largely because of the expense of protecting Uganda from the Arabs in the north—and the company found itself more concerned with administration than with trading. The company's interests in Kenya were then taken over by the British government, which assumed Protectorate rights over the territory. At this point, in 1895, the intention of the government was to control the land from Mombasa to the Rift Valley in order to maintain access to Uganda. Gradually, to protect the advancing railway, the missionaries, settlers and traders, government supervision stretched further afield and resulted, in the words of Sir Charles Eliot, in Kenya's "unconscious growth from a Consular District into a colony."¹

**Colonial Policy**

British assumption of responsibility for control of this area of the East African Protectorate was in pursuit of the maintenance of the established sea-route to India through the port at Mombasa, and an alternative land route through Uganda to the north. It also implied the assumption of responsibility for the future welfare of the native peoples of the area, but administration was proving to be an expensive business.

It was hoped that administrative costs might be defrayed by encouraging European settlers to take up residence on fertile land in areas of moderate climate. With the advent of the anticipated economic growth, taxes might be levied to finance the administration, and eventually a European-dominated dominion could be developed in much the same manner as Canada and Australia. European farming could, however, only be

¹ Quoted in *Zamani* p.258.
expected to prosper if an adequate supply of low-cost African labour were to be made available. This was arranged by imposing Hut- and Poll-Taxes upon the local population. These taxes were, for a time, levied in livestock, but the difficulties involved in collecting and disposing of thousands of sheep and goats made this approach impractical. Money for the payment of taxes could be earned by taking employment on European farms. Thus, at one stroke, money was obtained from the local people to finance district administration, and a labour force became available for work on settlers' farms.

From the available funds, little was spent on improving conditions for the indigenous population. Apart from occasional attempts by district administrators to change the efficiency of production and distribution in their own areas, the main activity of District Officers was to maintain peaceful relations with the people in their charge.

The colonial has already been summarised by Ingham.\(^1\) Civilised man, in this case the British administrator, had the duty to impose on primitive peoples his own beliefs and code of behaviour.

Part of these beliefs and code of behaviour was presented by the administrators in the form of courts of British justice, and each District Officer became, ex officio, a local magistrate. Swahili was the language of communication between government officials and the local population in all parts of Kenya, and Leakey\(^2\) points out the difficulties involved in evaluating evidence in Magistrate's Court through this medium. Few natives understood Swahili well enough to converse in the

\(^1\) See p. 27 above. \(^2\) L.S.B. Leakey, *Kenya*, p. 64 et seq.
language, and fewer administrators understood it well enough to think in the language. Thus, the services of an interpreter were required. Original evidence in, say, Kikuyu would be translated into Swahili by the interpreter, striving to translate idiomatic Kikuyu into grammatical Swahili. This interpretation, with all its inherent inaccuracies, would then be translated into English by the magistrate, whose English thoughts and idioms would then have to be re-translated into the common medium for transmission to the witness. Leakey expresses surprise that anything approaching British justice could be dispensed under such conditions.

The remainder of the 'civilised' beliefs and code of behaviour were the responsibility of the missionaries. Even though traditional African values and standards of conduct established admirable inter-personal and social relationships, few missionaries were aware of them. In any case, these were obviously pagan peoples and must, therefore be taught the Christian way. Jack Parr pointed out in a television programme on his safari in Kenya that missionaries had had to explain 'adultery' to the Luo before they could teach them the significance of the seventh Commandment. There was little understanding of the strong social and economic forces which conditioned local values and customs, and polygyny and female circumcision became prime targets for missionary zeal, but, as has already been pointed out, missionaries were not anthropologists.

Nor were the officers selected for service in colonial Africa.

Meinertzhagen describes the early officials as "(a) low class of
man..., Few of them have had any education..., One can neither read nor write.\(^1\). This charge could certainly not be levelled against those officers selected by Sir Ralph Furse during the period of his appointment as Recruiting Officer for the Colonial Office.

Furse also believed in the duty of colonial officials to bring to primitive peoples a certain code of behaviour, and in his case it was the code of the English Public Schools and Universities which he sought to present to the inhabitants of the colonies. In his book 'Aucuparius'\(^2\) he describes clearly his own principles of selection to manipulate the conditions described by Sir Charles Eliot as a 'tabula rasa' in East Africa.\(^3\)

It is interesting in this connection to follow in some detail the process by which the Public School system came to influence the selection of officers who were to be responsible for carrying government policy to its subject peoples. The basic policy was that of the Dual Mandate, which had been introduced into West Africa by Sir Frederick Lugard\(^4\) and the medium of its implementation in East Africa was the principle of Indirect Rule.

**Indirect Rule and the Dual Mandate**

These two concepts may appropriately be considered together since both originated from the colonial administrative experience of Lugard

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2 *Aucuparius: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer*.
3 *The East African Protectorate*. p.3.
4 Later Lord Lugard, the first colonial administrator to be made a peer as Baron Lugard of Abinger. *History of East Africa*. p.154.
and both were applied in Kenya.

The first, Indirect Rule, originated with Lugard in Nigeria and was directly attributable to the shortage of assistant administrative staff during his tenure of office as the first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria in 1900. Lugard himself wrote in his first annual report:

"The Government utilises and works through the native chiefs, and avails itself of their intelligence and powers of governing, but insists upon their observance of the fundamental laws of humanity and justice... (my italics)"¹

He goes on to point out that separate courts were established to deal with native and non-native offenders, and that Emirs 'unamenable to persuasion' were replaced by others, presumably more amenable to persuasion. There can be no doubt that the 'fundamental laws of humanity and justice' were those of the colonial power, and therefore foreign to the courts which were expected to administer them.

Lugard retired from colonial service in 1918, and four years later published 'The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa' in which he expressed his view that:

"Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefit of her own industrial classes and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; the benefit can be made reciprocal, and it is the aim and desire of civilised administration to fulfil this dual mandate."²

Such was the theory of colonial administration and policy as seen by Lugard, but its actual interpretation and application was ultimately in the hands of those colonial officers in the field who were in direct personal contact with the native peoples. The selection of these men

¹ Kenneth Ingham, History of East Africa, p. 152.
² ibid., p. 153.
for service was the sole responsibility of one man who could thus impose his own criteria of qualification.

This policy undoubtedly led to continuity in the application of general principles of colonial government, and a consistent approach of field officers to their own local problems. Consequently, it may be considered a reasonable limitation to be imposed by a government determined to administer its colonies with the minimum of financial outlay.

There was no apparent intention on the part of the British government to exploit the natural resources of East Africa, and, indeed, little effort seems to have been made to determine whether exploitable resources did, in fact, exist. The only immediate resource to be developed in the early years of the East African Protectorate was the fertile soil of the highland areas of Kenya. However, no restrictions were imposed on private individuals who wished to invest their own resources in the search for productive fields of exploitation. Gold was discovered at Kakamega, but that source was soon exhausted.

Kenya was merely a tract of land which it was expedient to administer in order to maintain facility of movement on British soil from one end of Africa to the other.

To be kept under British influence as economically as possible, it was necessary that peace should be maintained. It was also desirable that the native population should, as far as possible, supply their own subsistence needs and produce a marketable surplus to meet taxation demands. In this respect the aims of the dual mandate were open to
differing interpretations, and in order to maintain good market prices for European-produced crops, Africans were not encouraged to enter into competition. Coffee, in particular, was restricted to European producers for many years. Admittedly, it is a difficult crop to produce in that it demands constant care and attention which it was not believed that African farmers could provide, and disease spreads rapidly. However, in recent years, native production of coffee has reached parity with that of the settlers.

As an alternative to productive farming, the Africans could always seek remunerative employment with settlers or the government, and both outlets provided an incentive to acquire at least some education at the mission schools.

Peace could best be maintained by retaining traditional authority with the support and advice of British officials—always, of course, subject to their observance of 'fundamental laws of humanity and justice.'

Oxbridge and the Colonial System

In order to maintain a regular supply of officials who could be relied upon to follow accepted policies, Furse set up his own recruiting organisation, and personally selected candidates according to his own requirements.

Selection was made from a very limited field. The majority of Furse's candidates had "..., a good Second and a Blue."\(^1\) and on his own admission, these minimum standards were based on his personal achievements.

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\(^1\) Robert Heussler, *Yesterday's Rulers*, p.123.
Note: 'Second' = Second Class Honours Degree; Blue = recognition of outstanding athletic ability in a major sport in competition against Oxford (or Cambridge).
in the same fields. Furse had based his personal philosophy on Elizabethan lines:

"...the way Elizabethans touched life at so many angles, were, in short, whole men. I would rather, I said to myself, have variety of experience, and do two or three things passably than excel at one and be a duffer at all else."

From this standpoint he argued that a University degree—and for this purpose, he regarded only Oxford and Cambridge as 'universities'—was "... at best, an inadequate gauge of intellectual ability" because many highly-intelligent undergraduates were interested in other things, and sometimes failed to get Firsts for reasons other than inferior intellectual ability. He quotes one of his university 'recruiting officers'—Furse worked directly through dons with whom he was personally acquainted—as advising one of his students not to allow his work for a First to prevent him from entering into competition for the Presidency of the Oxford Union. In this respect, Furse's point of view differed little from that of other employers who seemed to agree that academic qualifications, on their own, were, in vocational terms, of limited value. The main contribution of the Universities to the worlds of business, education and government lay in the less tangible areas of the development of personality and qualities of leadership.

These were qualities which had already been encouraged in the (major) Public Schools and nurtured through university. As Furse states his case:

"Ideally, the candidates would have gone to one of the better

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1 Ralph Furse, Aucuparius. p.2.
2 Yesterday's Rulers. p.117.
Public Schools, although exceptions could be made in cases where a brilliant athletic or social record at Oxford made up for the short-comings of mediocre schooling."¹

Furse included in the category of 'mediocre' schools such foundations as Bedford, which he came to associate with appointments to Far Eastern and West Indian Police commissions, because, as he says: "... many Bedford parents could not afford to send their sons to university."²

On the other hand, the primary function of Eton (Furse's school) and Winchester—even in the Middle Ages—was the training of ecclesiastical and legal administrators. There products must, therefore, be suitable for leadership in the colonies.

In Furse's view,

"The Public Schools are vital.... In England, universities train the mind; the Public Schools train character and teach leadership.... Colonial officials were not just Civil Servants with a serious duty to the nation... their responsibility for protecting and guiding native peoples was unique. They were the bearers of civilisation, the custodians of a sacred trust."³

Effects on Local Leadership

From the point of view stated above, it may appear surprising that these protegés of Furse were to have the responsibility of maintaining local authority through the medium of Indirect Rule. As 'bearers of civilisation' their duties may have seemed to be in conflict with the custodianship of 'a sacred trust' if that trust were to be the maintenance of local authority. Nevertheless, their presence served to support locally-appointed chiefs with the authority of British law, whilst retaining the constructive aspects of local government and resisting

¹ *Yesterday's Rulers*, p.116. ² *ibid*, p.86. ³ *ibid*, p.82.
the application of less civilised sanctions.

Furse's officers were, as a result of their Public School training:

"... loyal, honest, and self-confident but liable to under-value the qualities of imagination, sensibility and critical ability... the authoritarianism ahead will be mild and benevolent, with the rights of the ruled scrupulously observed. But the idea that leaders will arise naturally, according to merit, from all classes, areas, and walks of life, is alien to the Public School ethos."¹

There can be no doubt that this 'mild and benevolent' authority contrasted sharply with the more severe approach of the Germans in Tanganyika. It is, however, equally certain that these same qualities of benevolence and mildness made it difficult for Africans, accustomed to strong traditional leadership, to validate their positions—either as leaders or followers—under such authority. Thus, traditional office-holders were retained in office without traditional support, whilst the emergence of potential leaders from other than traditional lines of succession was not encouraged. It is, perhaps, significant that many of the new political leaders of Africa are younger, educated men who have had to take over the leadership which was denied them during the colonial period, and for which they had been given no practical training.

"The leader (at Public School) learns that responsibility to the governed is an inextricable part of the power privilege, and followers come to rely on the comfort and security of being responsibly led."²

This comfort must have been difficult to find by those chiefs who saw the traditional systems of authority and respect being undermined by indecisive adjustment to changing circumstances on the part of their

¹ Yesterday's Rulers, p. 89-90
² ibid., p. 91.
appointed mentors.

Again, to quote from Purse's philosophy:

"If (Old Boys) were uncorruptible they were also unreceptive to criticism, and unimaginative in the face of changing circumstances. It was the native who had to adapt in the earlier years.... Single-minded loyalty to existing forms was more important than imaginative ability to devise new forms." ¹

It is unfortunate that those who were expected to adapt were the uneducated, tradition-bound tribesmen, faced with a host of incomprehensible facts, acts, and ideas, especially when Heussler points out:

"Four years in the hot-house of Oxford were bound to produce an attitude of mind making psychological communication with other classes almost impossible." ²

Indirect Rule in Practice

In view of this apparent lack of direct policy in Kenya, and the appointment of admittedly unimaginative officers to administer such indirect policy as may have been desirable, there would be little value in attempting to evaluate success or failure of this early approach to colonial development. Nevertheless, the early days of colonial administration in Kenya have had their effects on the subsequent development of the country and its peoples.

Tribal loyalties have survived throughout the period of colonial administration, but this must be considered as evidence of the success of Indirect Rule, except in an indirect manner. Tribal boundaries were maintained, and there was little direct interference with traditional rites and practices by government officers, but the appointment of

¹ Yesterday's Rulers, p.101. ² ibid. Author's comment, p.113.
nominal 'chiefs' only served to strengthen tribal feeling and unity against, rather than in support of, these British nominees. With the advent of Independence, chiefs and headmen were dismissed by the new government, yet Africans were appointed to the essentially colonial positions of District and Provincial Commissioners. This was part of the process of Africanisation through which remunerative positions of privilege and responsibility might be made available to native Kenyans as replacements for expatriate personnel.

Such inconsistencies suggest that the Africans of Kenya have manipulated to their own advantage the opportunities offered under the colonial government.

Missions have claimed as 'converts' many Africans who may profess to be Christians, but acknowledge the fact that such 'conversion' may be purely nominal. After all, attendance at church is a small price to pay for the educational and medical facilities which the missions offer to the converted.

Educationalists also claim success for their aims and methods and can point to statistics to prove their case. Numbers of schools, students in attendance, and examination passes have all increased over the years, and have frequently been confused with progress in education as well as being evidence of a desire for education on the part of the Africans. What really exists is only a strong desire for those things which tend to accrue to those individuals who hold some proof of attendance at educational institutions.
The fish appears to have taken the bait, but it has not swallowed the hook. However, this is speculative and difficult to support. Attitudes are difficult to measure, and the existence of millenarian cults in various parts of the world tends to obscure the actual significance of apparent attitudes from all but the most experienced of anthropologists. It would be tempting to attribute African enthusiasm for education to the imponderabilities of millenarianism but it is more likely to be merely a reflection of the priorities introduced by the missions and the colonial government.

Colonialists also make their claims, and offer as evidence of the success of their moderate methods the comparatively peaceful acceptance by the Africans of European overlordship. The desire to acquire the trappings of 'civilisation' has been construed as evidence of the 'civilising' process itself, divorced from a more realistic consideration of the gains to be made from apparent acceptance. Perhaps the word 'civilisation' in this context is open to misinterpretation. It might be more accurate to substitute 'westernisation' and thus avoid any inference that the Africans of Kenya were then, or are now, less than civilised.

The other side of the argument has been presented with equal force by those militant Africans who now claim sympathy from anti-imperialists by showing how the under-privileged native has been exploited by his erstwhile rulers. They themselves are no less qualified than their antecedents to manipulate the same emotional and rational arguments between white and

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1 See p.92 for amplification of millenarianism.
black, coloniser and colonised, privileged and under-privileged, emerged and emergent. It is certain, however, that the older generation of colonised Africans, whilst lacking many of the 'civilised' qualities of the colonialists, did not lack their own form of inter-personal psychology and the wisdom to apply it in pursuit of their own ends.

Effects of Indirect Rule

Thus, in considering the aims and effects of the policy of indirect rule, it would be advisable to discard any suggestion of a primary conflict between a superior and an inferior culture. Certainly one culture had the advantage of greater technological development and formal education, whilst the other was infinitely better adapted to the environment in which the changes were to be effected. It would be preferable, then, to accept a view of differences in aims and ends existing between different cultures. Each has been exploited by the other, and both have, on occasion, compromised their integrity.

Firstly, it is incorrect to assume that the European wandered into an Africa unprepared to defend its territories and principles against invasion. At the time of the European incursion into Kenya, the majority of the local peoples were (historically) comparatively recently settled into their adopted areas after periods of migration. The agriculturalists, primarily Bantu, had settled and defended their lands by means of their traditional political and military organisations. The continuing nomads, mainly Hamites and Nilotes, generally sought different conditions for their herds, and were thus not in direct competition with the agriculturalists, but were equally prepared to defend with military force their rights of
transit. All are peoples adapted to the demands of their environment, all aware of the potential of their own weapons and military skills, and many in possession of firearms supplied by Arab traders.¹ The original colonists did not arrive with similar forces, so superiority of numbers and arms rested with the Africans.

Secondly, outright conquest of the peoples of Kenya had obviously been ruled out as colonial policy, because apart from the use of friendly local support, there is no evidence of the importation of large-scale military force to impose colonial rule. Whilst this may have been justified on the grounds of economy—and it was mainly the cost of subduing the Sudanese mutiny in Uganda which caused the British East Africa Company to discontinue its development of the territory—it does remain as a fact, and further supports the view that this was purely 'territorial-supervision colonialism'. Mrs. de Kiewet Hemphill expresses the view that "...under-investment in decent administration is sometimes worse than the most thoroughly arbitrary rule."² but this view also is open to considerable criticism. Since military conquest was not the colonial aim, and economic development for the native population never became specific policy, the investment of British money in administration could only be justified by the imposition of British cultural standards in a direct policy of Europeanisation of the natives. Cultural colonialism

¹ Meinertzhagen referred to "...half a million well-armed savages" (Kenya Diary p.32); Johnston reports the Baganda as "...something like a million fairly intelligent, slightly-civilised negroes of warlike tendencies and possessing about 10,000 to 12,000 guns" (Colonialism in Africa. p.291.)

² ibid, p. 298.
would be an even more difficult policy to justify.

There is no doubt that the imposition of Hut- and Poll-taxes as an economy measure had far-reaching effects on missionary activities, educational policies, and the distribution of these activities in the more densely-populated areas.

Meinertzhagen quotes a particular example of the difficulties involved in collecting hut-tax in kind. One sheep was acceptable instead of three rupees, and the local District Officer was then faced with the problem of accommodating 746 sheep—most of which were infected with foot-rot. The problem was solved by asking the Kikuyu to come and take their sheep away again.¹ Such difficulties made it imperative that the taxes be collected in cash, with the result that many local people were obliged to seek paid employment. Preference in employment was given to those who were able to speak and understand English, and English was only taught in the mission schools. Each mission presented its own approach to religion and imposed its own moral standards, and acceptance of these standards became part of the price of education and the anticipated reward of profitable employment in the service of Europeans.

Local Authority

Studies quoted by Gann and Duignan suggest exploitation by the Africans of the need, weakness, and ignorance of the colonialists, and Mrs. Stahl's study of the Chagga points out that:

"African chiefs showed remarkable ingenuity in progressively enhancing their own powers.... They made use of every new thing and

¹ Kenya Diary, p.42.
every new kind of human being to enhance their own positions... they were adept at assessing European officers..."1

Whilst this comment is made of a Tanganyika tribe, there is no evidence to suggest that it is not typical of other East African tribes.

The chiefs who were recruited to participate in the colonial system of indirect rule had their own positions to consolidate, and used all available means to do so. Even where their political positions within the tribe were assured by traditional authority, further prestige could only accrue to the tribe as a whole through the prestige of their chief, so by helping himself he was also directly helping his people. In the majority of tribes associating with European colonists, the chiefs and elders were mature men of wisdom, wise in the ways of their people, strong in their own cultures, supported by traditional beliefs and customs, and capable of utilising all these strengths in manipulating others. By contrast, Meinertzhagen describes the early officials as "...(a) low class of man.... Few of them have had any education.... One can neither read nor write." and quotes Sir Clement Hill's belief that "...so long as Civil Servants were enlisted from the gutter, we could not expect a high standard of administration."2 On the other hand, Furse's later recruits were men of superior education, sheltered from the ways of all but a select few of their own kind of people, unaware of any but their own limited culture, and, in spite of their qualities of leadership, accustomed to being exploited by their educational traditions. Encouraged to support tradition as they found it, they could hardly be expected

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1 Gann and Guignan, Colonialism in Africa, p.301.
2 Kenya Diary, p. 132.
to prove themselves the political equals of the old chiefs—wise in the ways of men and their primitive world.

The colonial system was set up in such a way that the newer recruits to the service were those most directly in contact with the native authorities in 'bush' stations. Later, specialists in agriculture, education, medicine, community development and engineering were introduced into the system, but all came under the control and authority of the basic regime of Provincial and District Commissioners. Leakey is critical of the policy of moving district officers from one tribal area to another before they became proficient in a local vernacular as a medium of communication, but the wider experience of dealing with several tribes in different areas of Kenya undoubtedly gave them a better appreciation of the problems and needs of the country as a whole.
CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL CHANGE

 Colonial Influence

From the time when Kenya was annexed as a colony, the main factor of administrative policy had been economy of operation, and with no foreseeable time limit.

Margery Perham quotes a senior official of the Colonial Service as saying in 1939: "Well, at any rate, in Africa we can be sure that we have unlimited time in which to work." At that time, Britain was the greatest imperial power in the world, and facing the possibility of a war which was to change the whole philosophy of colonialism. Native soldiers from colonial territories were to fight alongside soldiers whose homes were in the centre of the Empire. Both were to find that each was a different type of individual from what he had been led to expect.

The native soldier proved himself capable of handling the weapons of modern warfare and demonstrated his own peculiar skills in the jungles of Burma. The English soldier wore the same uniform, lived in the same barracks, got wet and dirty in the same mud, and treated his fellow fighting man as an equal. The African became aware that there were white men who did manual tasks, and the Englishman became aware that not all black men wore animal skins and ate people. The 'ordinary' people on both sides had made contact for the first time, and this new awareness led to

1The Colonial Reckoning p.86.
a re-appraisal of the whole colonial system, until in 1961, when delivering her Reith Lectures, Margery Perham states the revised standards by which empires were to be judged as: "... it is now taken for granted that the only test is the interest of the ruled.... The British Empire ... had been created and conducted mainly in the interests of the ruling power."¹

In the eighty or so years which had elapsed between the great Victorian age of imperial development and the Reith Lectures on "The Colonial Reckoning" many changes had taken place to bring about the difference in thinking about colonialism. Travel to Africa had become a holiday excursion from Europe to cities and recreational facilities as modern as any at home. Some aspects of traditional African life had been retained and preserved as tourist attractions, others existed as they always had because that was the way the people chose to live. Many Africans wore western-style dress, provided tourist services in government offices, banks and stores; many more, as students and politicians had travelled from their homelands to the cities of Europe and America, and through the shrinking of the world by modern forms of transportation had become aware of the diminishing gap between their own way of life and the rest of the peoples of the world outside.

The social change which had come about in Africa had not been the result of deliberate colonial policy, but it was an unavoidable by-product of the contact between coloniser and colonised.

Support of traditional forms of government for many years had

¹The Colonial Reckoning p.77.
prevented adjustment to changing conditions, and had eventually undermined the very structure it was trying to uphold.

Lack of constructive policies for development of the territory found all levels of indigenous society in Kenya unprepared to meet the rapidly changing conditions in their own and the outside world. Consequent social, political and economic development becomes matters of expediency, resulting in ultimate independence. Lucy Mair expresses this view as follows:

"It is a familiar fact that European rule in Africa has set in motion a radical change in African society. In some fields this has not been the result of any deliberate intention. In that of economic development, interest has generally been centred in the immediate problems of production, and the effects upon African institutions of the solutions that have been found for these have been neither planned nor foreseen."

"There can be no single right analysis of social change." Max Gluckman offers this comment on Malinowski's "Functional Analysis of Social Change" and goes on to point out that "... every event is the product of a unique history through which, we assume, there has operated a variety of scientific laws."

Thus, it would seem unwise to generalise on social change over such a wide area as Kenya in which so many different tribal groups have been affected, in varying degrees, by British colonial policy. Nevertheless, broad probabilities may emerge which will be relevant to the future development of the country and its people:

1. The extent to which social change in Kenya has been affected by colonial policy was related to:
   (a) The inherent stability of the society at the time the influence

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1 The Study of Africa (McEwen and Sutcliffe) p.107.
was exerted.

(b) The extent to which the government wished to effect social change.
(c) The extent to which the society was willing to be affected.
(d) The inherent flexibility of the society.
(e) Its social structure at the time of influence.
(f) Its religious structure.
(g) Its economic structure.

These criteria may be evaluated against the effects of colonial intervention under the above headings:

1(a) Inherent Stability (Masai) and Instability (Kikuyu)

Colonial influence in Kenya began in the early years of the twentieth century to facilitate construction of the railway. Small forts were set up and operated by army units to control local population groups. District Officers were made responsible for tax-collection whilst army officers exerted military authority with the help of African militia units. Meinertzhagen's patrols consisted of locally-recruited Masai as well as Sudanese, Swahili, Manyema from the Congo, and Wanyamwezi from Tanganyika—all recruits in the King's African Rifles. Such control was punitive, and Meinertzhagen records many examples from his surveying, hunting, and policing activities. Since this control was exercised along the route of the railway, and in areas open to European settlement, it largely concerned the Kikuyu and the Masai. Other Kenya tribes, nearer to the coast, had already experienced extensive contact with Arab traders and European missionaries and did not offer the same resistance to British incursion as the tribes of the interior. Tribes near Lake Victoria had come
under the influence of the Baganda, whilst the tribes of Northern Kenya were not at this time affected by British activity. Agreement was reached between British authority and the Masai which resulted in active cooperation by the Masai against their traditional enemies. The Kikuyu had no centralised system of political control, and no overall chiefs with whom similar agreements could be made. Thus, the Kikuyu had imposed upon them a system of leadership which their own traditions had already rejected as being liable to lead to tribal disintegration under power-seeking individuals. The age-set system continued to bind together segments of tribal groups which were reinforced in their unity by initiation rites. Missionaries, following closely on the development of the railway, immediately began their conversion campaigns by trying to break down these pagan customs—especially those which they considered to be the most barbarous and concerned with clitoridectomy. Tribal groups became numerically weakened by the migration of whole families to become 'squatters' on European farms, by males of all ages leaving their home areas in search of education and employment, and by the departure of those few girls for whom education or employment might be found. Mungeam quotes Sir Percy Girouard, Governor of the East African Protectorate, as saying of the Kikuyu in 1910, "...old tribal society is beginning to crack under the strain of a new way of life."\(^1\) Middleton reinforces this earlier observation: "It is probably true to say that no other tribe in East Africa has been

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1 British Rule in Kenya p.252.
subjected quite so intensively as the Kikuyu to the influence of culture contact.... In South Kiambu (the area closest to Nairobi) the indigenous tribal society has completely broken down.\(^1\)

1(b) Government Intent

Kenya was destined to be a colony in which the interests of European settlers were to predominate over those of the native peoples. There was, therefore, no determined attempt made by the government to effect social change. Such change as did result in the early days came about through the closer culture contact between settler and African employee. Dual standards were more apparent, as was the difference between the theory and practice of European ideals. This became even more apparent when students from Kenya had the opportunity to travel overseas for further education, and returned to face dissatisfaction with their place in the new society. Traditional progress to positions of authority depended on age and service to the tribe, and this avenue was closed to those young men who had left the tribal environment to gain their educational qualifications. At the higher level of national government, the British-oriented colony offered no encouragement to educated Africans to participate in the administration of the country. They found themselves in a no-man's-land between the two cultures, and strangers in their own land. Later this dissatisfaction became crystallised in an intense form of nationalistic desire for independence, although there is little evidence of active participation by educated Kenyans

\(^1\) The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya p.15.
1(c) Masai unwillingness to be affected

In contrast to the agriculturalists of Kenya, the Nilotic and Hamitic herdsmen have remained aloof from colonial influence. Tyler attributes this largely to the difference between traditional social systems. Societies in which certain positions of authority might be achieved were more likely to participate in the opportunities offered by colonial governments than those in which authoritative positions were ascribed. He asserts:

"Masai were able to translate little of what the missionaries had to offer into the values of their society. The achievement opportunities offered by schooling could only be accepted by contracting out of Masai society." 1

This view was supported by a young Masai Education Officer whose father had left the tribal lands to take up employment at the coast. The son had been appointed as an advisory official in his original home district, but was not permitted to put his suggestions before the tribal councils because he was 'too young to be heard'. Grazing areas were defined for the Masai, but herding communities were difficult to administer from fixed government posts, and it was equally difficult to provide schools and medical facilities for the nomadic peoples. In addition, the Masai economy could not easily be transformed into a money-based system since their cattle were the Masai means of subsistence as well as a form of mobile wealth and prestige symbols. Middleton mentions similar aspects of Karamojong resistance to social change, and states,

1 Tradition and Transition in East Africa p.151.
"To summarise, in most respects the Karamojong of 1958 were but little altered from their situation at the turn of the century, and so have displayed the greatest capacity to inhibit such changes as have been proposed for them, whether by officials or traders."\[1\]

Attempts to restrict Karamojong use of certain grazing areas led to conflict between them and the resident tribes. Only in recent years was it discovered by a government agronomist that the restricted eastern area used by the Karamojong in the dry season provided minerals essential for the health of their cattle, and which were deficient in the area allocated to the Karamojong for grazing. As recently as 1960, the Karamojong instigated cattle raids against their northern neighbours, the Jie, and in 1958 fifty thousand head of cattle changed hands in a raid in which fifty people were killed. Cattle raiding is part of the Karamojong way of life, and one of the opportunities for a young warrior to prove his manhood.\[2\]

1(d) Luo and Pokot Flexibility

The continued development of African societies and their adjustment to varying conditions prior to the arrival of British administrators may be taken as evidence of their inherent flexibility. Those societies which could not adapt died out. The arrival of colonists presented the extant societies with a further series of adaptations to be faced, and made, with varying degrees of success. Their willingness to adapt in the hope of individual or collective gain has already been noted, but such adaptation was made, on the whole, by older members of the tribes. Education of the younger members

\[1\] Black Africa p.67 et seq.
\[2\] ibid. p.67.
produced a dichotomy which made it almost impossible for educated Africans to re-adapt themselves to traditional systems from which they had become alienated by a European system of values.

Preparation for the intrusion of colonists had already been made by some tribes who have accounted for their arrival by mystical forecasts. Davidson quotes the example of Luo priests referring to the first Europeans as 'red strangers' and the 'embodiment of ancestral spirits, now returned to show men better ways of life.' He offers this as evidence of the flexibility of traditional religious beliefs. Later, in 1915, a further adjustment was made with the origination of the Mumbo Cult with its message:

"Go and tell all Africans that from henceforth I (Mumbo) am their God.... The Christian religion is rotten.... All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will disappear from our country." These quotations suggest not only that Luo society was flexible enough to change its attitude within a space of about ten years, but was also wise enough to rationalise its original acceptance of colonial authority.

The Pokot may also be cited as an example of flexibility, but in their case this characteristic resulted in general rejection of the colonial influence. Bascom and Herskovits state:

"Contrasted to the Turkhana and Karamojong to the north and the Nandi to the south, who had to be subdued by force, the Pokot originally had the reputation of being quiescent and tractable. Why they did not openly resist is not known, but it has been suggested that they were glad to exchange a few

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2 Ibid. p.273.
goats and sheep as taxes in return for British protection from
the Turkhana... who had so often defeated them. Avoiding pay-
ment of taxes became their form of resistance... and they were
partly compensated by being invited to participate in British-
sponsored raids against their enemy, the Turkhana."¹

Coleman has emphasised this point:

"Certain African tribes exposed to the same forces of accult-
uration and the same provocations have demonstrated radically
different reactions."²

and cites the Kikuyu in illustration.

1(e) 1(f) 1(g) Social, Religious and Economic Structure

These three aspects of society are considered to be so inter-related
as to be inseparable in this context. Most African groups are
based on kinship relations, and it is these relationships which
seem to have been most directly affected by colonial policy.

The family is the fundamental social and economic unit, besides
playing an important part in the transmission of tribal culture,
so that any impact on the family structure must affect all aspects
of traditional structure. This became most noticeable in Kenya
with the establishment of settler communities offering employment
to local Africans. The settlers' first requirements were for
manual labour for land-clearing and house-building, and also domestic
help. Because of the traditional distribution of labour, under
which the heavy work was performed by men, they were the first to
be taken from their position in the family. Although many settler
farms were close enough to tribal lands to recruit local labour
without involving complete alienation from the homestead, fathers

¹ Continuity and Change in African Cultures p.148.
² Problems in the History of Colonial Africa p.345.
who were so employed were no longer available at home for that close personal contact which was such an important factor in the transmission to their sons of tribal lore. Some of the fathers' tasks associated with the supervision of cattle had then to be undertaken by younger males, and the disintegration of tribal life had begun.

Kenyatta deals at length with the family aspects of education among the Kikuyu, and presents it as "Beginning at birth and ending with death,... Age groups systematise education for every status in life."¹ Muga Gatheru, in referring to the early days of mission education in Kenya, notes:

"In most schools it was a common thing to find father and son or daughter under the glow of the hurricane lamp learning the 3 Rs. Husbands and wives with their children learning reading and writing."²

Even this simple experience represents an equalisation of roles at variance with tribal tradition and emphasises the impact of the new education on the family group.

Employment opportunities existed for all ages and both sexes if they were able to communicate in the language of the colonist. The wages from that employment also helped further to disturb traditional relationships. Mungeam quotes the views of Kikuyu elders, expressed in 1912, on the early effects of paid employment. Young men, not yet owners of huts nor heads of families, were obliged to leave their tribal lands to seek employment in order to earn money to pay Poll-tax. Contact with Europeans on farms and

² Land of Sunshine p.40-41.
in towns led to culture conflict and an adjustment of traditional values. Individual gain replaced the good of the family and the community as their motivating force; money replaced the value of cattle as bride-wealth, and young men who had contributed nothing to the welfare of the tribe expected wives to be found for them merely because they could pay in cash.

"Labour was no longer part of the social role of tribal relationships to be rewarded with hospitality or the return of labour."\(^1\)

For such a communally-conscious people as the Kikuyu, this devaluation of labour from the social into the purely economic field may have been the most serious blow to the social structure. Middleton also mentions this breakdown of tribal structure as part of the social consequences of labour migration, together with the resultant imbalance between the sexes in both the supplying and receiving areas. The normal ratio between the sexes in the majority of Kenya tribes shows from 1.1 to 1.3 females to each male. Shortage of females in the towns encouraged the growth of professional prostitution to satisfy the needs of the surplus of men. In the home villages, a surplus of girls led to 'amateur' prostitution to ensure a fair distribution of the available males.\(^2\) Movement of whole families as squatters, whilst retaining the family as a social unit, transferred it completely outside the tribal orbit to begin an entirely different form of life—both economic and social—in an entirely different environment. Close association with

members of other tribes in similar situations produced another opportunity for contact between different cultures.

Similar contacts in urban areas led to the formation of inter-tribal associations based on occupational or educational qualifications and cut across tribal loyalties. Closer contact with Europeans made Africans in the towns more aware of their inferior status in their own country in all aspects of life. They held inferior positions in business, were paid lower wages than Europeans or Asians, were offered inferior living accommodation, and were denied adequate political representation. Consequently, many of their urban associations became centres of agitation and unrest.

Land acquired under squatter rights became purely a means of subsistence without the symbolism attached to tribal tenure. It was no longer a link with the past through the presence of ancestral spirits, nor could it be transferred to future generations by inheritance. As a means of subsistence, however, it was adequate, and established an attitude towards the land as a source of livelihood—land on which crops could be grown, and from which the surplus could be sold for cash instead of being distributed to satisfy the needs of less fortunate relatives. Such attitudes were incidental to the direct application of colonial policy, but were conducive to the establishment of a cash economy and of a moneyed middle class. Although the amounts of cash involved were small, they led to a demand for European-style consumer goods which became
the new status symbols. It also became possible for parents to pay school fees for their children and thus start them on their way to more secure and remunerative employment. Traditional society became increasingly split by this gradual change in values. Cattle and other livestock were no longer the only visible signs of wealth and status. Bicycles, radios, guitars, and European suits replaced the traditional symbols of wives, children, homestead and cattle, and led to the recognition of a new tribe in Kenya—the WaBenzi, possessors of that ultimate status symbol, the Mercedes-Benz car.

Although these new symbols did not represent the long years of service to family and tribe, they were concrete evidence of progress in the outside world. Young men were able to attract girls with their display of the new symbols and so to bypass the traditional approach to marriage.

Tribal vernaculars also suffered in the course of education. As English became the medium of instruction in schools it became the medium of communication between educated Africans—even members of the same tribe—since its wider vocabulary extended the range of conversational topics.

Thus, education as originally offered by the missions had a more disruptive effect than could have been envisaged. Rapidly there developed throughout Africa "... a belief in schooling as an almost magical way to achieve money, prestige, status, power, health, a better life."1 Although these may all be desirable

1 The Transformation of East Africa p. 506.
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION SCHOOLS [1912]

EXTENT OF KIKUYU LAND AREA

SINGLE SCHOOLS
aims in western society, and laudable objectives for an educational system in a backward and underdeveloped African society, they were seriously destructive of tribal life which was the main stabilising force in traditional society. Also, the divergence between tribes in opportunity and qualifications through education is entirely due to the establishment of schools in areas favoured by the missions because of their accessibility and population density. This factor is easy to justify from the point of economy of operation, especially since the missions were utilising privately-donated funds in the cause of their own approach to Christianity. Lugard wondered "whether the missions had used the weapon of education with a due regard to the stability of the social order." There can be little doubt that they had not. The constructive tool which the missions believed they had introduced became the weapon which would destroy traditional society.

The religious aspect of the early educational system also became a destructive force. Schooling provided the incentive for Africans to come under the influence of European missionaries of many different sects and practices. They became exposed to a variety of ethics soon observed to be at variance with the realities of European culture as demonstrated by the settler population. They were also subjected to direct pressure to abandon tribal custom or be denied education. Mockeri states that "Christian missionaries prevent their adherents from taking part in social dances as they think them... immoral in character."2

1 The Dual Mandate p. 426.
2 An African Speaks for his People p. 27.
This prohibition also extended to female circumcision and polygyny. Since the former was considered by several tribes to be the initiation into full womanhood and eligibility for marriage, this prohibition was particularly damaging to tribal structure. When the colonial government later prohibited the operation, it was not unusual for young girls to perform the operation upon themselves without the knowledge, experience, or safeguards available to the customary practitioners. The results were much more damaging physically, but in spite of the risk of infection the girls still thought it was justified in order to fulfil their tribal obligations.

Educational opportunities offered by the missions were accepted by the Africans in the same spirit as other aspects of colonialism. They were willing to manipulate the missionaries as they manipulated the administrators.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission reported an awareness of "...the futility and even positive dangers of a literary education of the Western type in societies which were economically more primitive than those in Europe in the Dark Ages."¹ but there is little evidence of either the missions or the government making any constructive adjustment to curriculum or methodology following the 1922 Report. Thus, whilst the government had allowed the missions to be responsible for education within the colony, their failure to correct earlier errors must be construed as neglect of the principle of the Dual Mandate. The colonial government must also bear

¹ The Missionary Factor p.265.
a large part of the responsibility for the failure of education to
serve a more constructive purpose in the development of Kenya.
By 1922, the failure of education had already sown the seeds of
future political unrest and completed the division between the
younger educated 'elite' and the elder tribal authorities.

Harlow and Chilver summarise the effects of colonial policy
as follows:

"... criticism of the indirect methods are generally aimed at its
later stages... Some of the faults of the system may have been
due to the excessive demands made upon it, especially for the
activities quite alien to African experience,... the colonial
authorities were slow to realise that it was impossible for European
power, on the one hand, to maintain indigenous institutions, and
on the other, to change the whole pre-European environment which
those institutions had been evolved to meet. The ideal would have
been an adjustment, related to changing needs and to tribal develop­
ment, by which African administration could have been shifted grad­
ually on to a more efficient and representative basis. Admittedly,
this process is much easier in a retrospective opinion than it
could have been in contemporary action. It must also be remembered
that today the African policies of our period are nearly always
judged according to their efficacy in preparing the way to indep­
endence; whereas the earlier administrations were working against
great obstacles, for much more limited and immediate objectives of
maintaining law and order and initiating a modest social betterment." ¹

As Harlow and Chilver have pointed out in the above extract,
the early aims of colonial policy have been confused with modern crit­
icism of their efficiency as preparation for ultimate independence.

Now that Kenya has achieved independence, the establishment of a
national identity is a primary problem. To this extent, the government
has a clear and specific aim for social change in the future. It may
be aided in its achievement of this aim by consideration of colonial

policies and their effects over the years under British control.

It will be seen that government influence will be most effective in societies which are:

(a) most willing to be influenced.
(b) most cooperative.
(c) generally, settled agricultural communities.
(d) already established in comparatively densely-populated areas.
(e) established in areas:
   (i) convenient to administer as political entities.
   (ii) adjacent to areas of economic potential.
   (iii) accessible to government supervision.

It is possible that the more isolated pastoral tribes will be no more willing to be influenced by an African government than by the colonial government, and would prefer to continue to follow their traditional nomadic existence. Where this mode of life comes into conflict with government aims for further development of their areas, it may be necessary for an African government to impose the same sort of controls as were imposed in the colonial period. It may be desirable in the early stages of national development to devise separate forms of educational curricula for such isolated areas to institute an awareness of the needs of the country as a whole and to demonstrate ways in which each community may contribute to the national good. It is probable that detailed anthropological studies of tribes which have not yet given up their traditional ways of life could indicate customary strengths which might be adapted to the national well-being. Cultural talents of many tribes, recognised and correlated before they become lost in detribalisation, could well contribute to an integrated and unique Kenyan culture and enable all tribes to retain an identifiable con-
tribution to the national whole of which they might be justly proud.

If such tribes are to cooperate with the national government it may be necessary to introduce temporary development of their areas in order to enable them to continue their traditional way of life under conditions of reduced hardship until such time as they may be ready to adapt to a new mode of existence within a reorientated economy.

It may take many years for this transition to be achieved, and it may also entail the expenditure of considerable amounts of money for which their more pressing demands, but this is a problem which can only be solved by the government of Kenya. It appears essential that settlement is a pre-requisite of development, and even if such settlements were established they would still be too far from the present centres of commerce to become economically viable units within the national economy. Even a vastly increased transportation system would not be a complete solution to the problem in the absence of local processing plants and alternative outlets to local or overseas markets.
The Colonial Legacy

During the colonial period the society of Kenya as a whole had developed along purely racial lines. Three main cultures were represented and identified under 'continental' terminology, partially euphemistic in order to avoid direct reference to skin colour, and partially to avoid the use of the term 'native', with its derogatory connotation, which had been used earlier in government reports to refer to the indigenous population. The term 'European' was applied to all white people, of whom the majority were of British origin, and many of Kenyan birth. This group, in business and government offices occupied the majority of the highest managerial and administrative positions, and, numerically was the minority group. Europeans were also the majority group among the 'settler' population of expatriates farming or managing large tracts of land as coffee, sisal, pyrethrum or pineapple plantations. 'Asians' primarily from the sub-continent of India, and many of whom were Kenya-born, handled much of the basic commerce in the major cities, occupied sub-managerial and administrative positions in business and government, held supervisory positions in the transport system, and operated many of the small stores in townships and villages in predominantly 'African'
'locations' (areas restricted to development for and by indigenous peoples). The large majority - the 'African' population - in business and government occupied the lowest of clerical positions and carried out the most menial of tasks. In industry they provided the greater part of the semi- and un-skilled labour force, and in rural areas, following their traditional crafts, they made up the majority of the total population.

Cultural segregation extended to the residential areas of towns where it existed on an economic basis. Rents in the European sectors were generally too high to be afforded by the majority of the other groups, although there was no other form of overt restriction on tenancy. The existence of social facilities, churches, and clubs, with an ethnic bias - even in the absence of exclusive restrictions - were sufficient to establish recognised 'European', 'Asian' and 'African' areas of the main towns. Many clubs were ethnically-restricted, but multi-racial organisations were also available for those who wished to cross cultural barriers in the pursuit of common interests.

Schools were also segregated along the same lines. European schools were housed in large modern buildings, and offered boarding accommodation for those students whose homes were too far away to permit daily travel. Fees were high, and many of the additional facilities of the schools were provided through direct donations from parents and past students. Asian schools occupied generally less adequate buildings and with fewer ancilliary facilities, since they catered for the educational needs of a correspondingly larger section of the population.
African schools, generally, occupied the poorest of buildings with the most limited facilities and were also financed by fees paid by parents. Much of the differentiation could be accounted for by the different rates of fees paid by parents and by the higher rates of taxation, but there was also a considerable difference in the actual salary scales from which these fees and taxes were paid. The U.S. Army Area Handbook for Kenya quotes the ratio of 100:23:1\(^1\) on a per capita income basis, but also points out that the real income difference would be less extreme, since African subsistence farming had not been taken into account in arriving at the figures used.

Averages and means, however, are of little value in comparing living requirements and standards. The majority of Africans continued to cultivate their lands and herd their livestock according to traditional methods and produced their own means of subsistence. Small surpluses of crops could be sold in the local markets for money to pay school fees and personal taxes, or exchanged for other basic requirements such as hoes, spears, cooking-pots, baskets or ornaments. They built their own homes to traditional patterns from locally-available materials, and, generally, retained the customary approach to social life within the tribe. From such homes some children went to local schools provided either by the government or whichever mission was operating in their home area. A normal distribution of mission activity would be one Protestant—Anglican, Church of Scotland, Methodist, Society of Friends, Seventh Day Adventist—and one Catholic representative in each area. Generally,

\(^1\) p. 165.
missions which had opened up a particular area were—and reasonably so—reluctant to surrender even part of their territory to any opposing sect. Nevertheless, in many areas, parents had a choice of schools for their children, although many children could not be spared from domestic tasks or could not afford fees to attend school.

In other homes—especially near centres of settlement or administration—some members of the household accepted paid employment which necessitated a reallocation of domestic duties within the homestead to enable customary tasks to be carried on. The subsistence gardens must still be tended, livestock supervised, water and firewood collected and stored, to ensure supplies of food and the means of cooking it. Money earned from employment paid taxes and school fees, provided a few luxuries—radio, bicycle, blankets, shoes, lamps—tools, and possibly the purchase of a few coffee trees to start a small commercial enterprise, perhaps even a small truck to set up in business as a trader. Some part of the wages might also be used to pay for domestic help in looking after small children so that older children might attend school, or working in the gardens at the busier times of the year, and especially at harvest time.

Many men took up employment which entailed staying away from home for protracted periods of time, leaving all domestic work to be carried out by their families at home. Frequently, in the case of the more highly-educated, employed Africans and students at boarding schools and colleges, this necessitated the adoption of a complete dual standard
standard in most aspects of everyday life—different clothing, different food and mealtimes, and a different language. Returning home at weekends or for longer vacations meant a complete transformation from the westernised environment of the town to traditional conditions in the tribal reserve.

Thus, there exists in Kenya today a society which exhibits a considerable degree of stratification both multiracially and in the indigenous population.

There is an African elite, educated, employed and maintaining a high standard of living in the urban areas, and unwilling to return to the working and living conditions of the tribal areas. There is, at the other extreme, a majority of self-sufficient individuals and tribal societies who are content with their present way of life, and who can see no obvious benefit to themselves or their societies in cooperation with the government. Kenyan nationalism and the need to homogenise society into a Kenyan identity with a viable economy are concepts beyond their comprehension.

It will be necessary to transfer the primary loyalty of the individual from the family and the tribe to the greater entity of the nation, and to adapt all that is best in tribal tradition to establish an identity that is truly Kenyan. Tribalism in business and government must give way to unification—even as Africanisation was an essential preliminary to independence, when people of (temporarily) limited capacities were promoted in the interests of homogeneity—so that members of tribes not yet represented at the higher levels of government
may be given responsibility and the opportunity to learn whilst doing the job. These are some of the many problems which face the present government with its rallying cry of "Harambee" and its search for a national identity.

To what extent can the government expect to homogenise such a complex mixture of races, religions and aspirations?

To what extent is it desirable to do so?

To what extent does the colonial experience offer guidelines for future development?

Does the development of western civilisation itself provide a guide to the growth of a new and independent nation?

Must Africa repeat the errors of the past in quest of its identity?

Is the western model of civilisation the best, or the only model for developing nations?

To what extent can the educational system bring about the reforms and lead to the desired form of progress?

Over seventy years of colonial influence in Kenya can only begin to offer the most limited of guidelines to the government of Kenya. Even they have not been granted the 'tabula rasa' which Sir Charles Eliot believed to exist so many years ago.

1 "Let us work together."
PART II
THE SCHOOLS OF KENYA
CHAPTER 5

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The Function of Traditional Education

In all societies there exists a basic educational structure by means of which young members of the group are instructed in the duties and responsibilities of perpetuating the structure of their society as a whole. In most traditional societies this is a structure which has evolved over centuries of adaptation to the immediate environment, and since the environment within that historical framework has been unchanging, the society has become stable. There is no need for further adaptation, therefore there is no need for societal change.

Within such societies there exist traditional patterns of communication, behaviour, religion and subsistence, and in most of these patterns the function of the individual is clearly defined according to his stage of physical development. These stages may be classified as follows:

(i) Infancy. This is the period during which the infant is totally dependent on the mother for its food and physical well-being. In most of the tribes of Kenya this period may cover the first three years of the child's life, and during this time the parents will abstain from marital intercourse. (In this way a form of birth restriction is introduced into societies where
food supplies are limited and the basic fact of existence is bare survival. It will take all the mother's care to ensure that her child survives its first year of life. A man will not take a second wife until he has sufficient land for her to work to ensure her subsistence needs.) Child care is not, however, a full-time job for the mother. Up to the moment her child is born, and as soon as possible afterwards, she will continue to carry out all her normal domestic tasks in the homestead and the fields. The child will be carried in a blanket slung across the mother's back—even when she is also carrying a large bundle of firewood home in the evening.

(ii) Childhood. After the child is weaned it becomes the immediate responsibility of the next older sibling who attends to its physical needs whilst attending to his own allotted tasks around the home or tending the livestock nearby. As the child develops physically it is given tasks within its capabilities and also such instruction as cannot be gained purely by observation.

(iii) Youth. It is at this stage that the child is becoming aware of the physical changes in its body which will soon qualify the youngster for full membership within the tribe. Many of the simple domestic tasks will be within its physical capacity, such as looking after livestock by the boys, and collecting firewood, food crops, and water by the girls. Both sexes now become eligible for instruction in the rites of transition to the next stage of tribal development.

(iv) Adolescence. Physically, the youth is now approaching sexual maturity, and is usually faced with the most physically-demanding ceremony of initiation into full tribal membership. To show signs of fear at this stage is to face a future of exclusion from all mature activities of the tribe. Membership of the corporate social unit is the most desirable thing in life, and
this attitude colours the individual's approach to learning his place in society, with all its attendant responsibilities.

(v) Manhood. After initiation, the individual is now ready to undertake the full responsibility of tribal membership. The young man must accept the risks of defending tribal lands and properties against the attacks of traditional enemies, and must learn the skills and strategies of warfare. The young woman becomes eligible to bear children for her husband to assure his status within the tribe and also the continued existence of his family line, and thereby the corporate body.

(vi) Maturity. Having proven his manliness in battle and in the procreation of children, the male member at this stage becomes eligible to participate in the first councils of his tribe. Then, by the time his sons have reached tribal maturity and extended the family line into the second generation, the head of the family reaches the highest levels of tribal affairs. As a ritual elder, he may be invited to participate in the religious rites of the tribe. He is now also directly responsible for the spiritual well-being of all his kin, and ready, in due course, to join the ancestral spirits in the tribal lands.

This is a simplified composite structure of the age divisions within the tribes of Kenya. Applied to every individual, it delineates a series of stages through which he must pass, with appropriate ceremony, to achieve full identity and tribal membership. The tribe then identifies itself with its homeland and its ancestors to become an entity beyond which exist only 'others'. The tribe is the only unit to which the terms 'men' or 'human beings' may be applied.

Similar stages are not, in modern times, so clearly delineated in western societies, and this may account, to some extent, for the search
for identity by the youth of today. Between the wars, in Britain, there were recognisable stages of identity, running parallel with the educational system.

Going to school for the first time, at the age of five years, was the first step on the way to eventual adulthood. Unofficial, but none-the-less real, initiation rites into this new stage of life were devised by those who had already settled into the new environment. New clothing purchased especially for wear at school and usually including a school cap, easily identified the new arrival, besides providing the means for testing his fortitude. Cap-snatching was one of the most common 'tests'. This activity consisted of throwing the cap from hand to hand of members of the tormenting group—possibly also using it for an impromptu game of foot'ball'—before throwing it into some relatively inaccessible place. Since this activity was normally carried out after school hours, the initiate was faced with the problem of explaining the damage to his new cap to an irate parent. At that time, compulsory schooling terminated at the age of fourteen, when the average youth might anticipate being apprenticed to a trade for the next six years. This new step also involved the purchase of characteristic clothing. Long trousers replaced the shorts of boyhood, often accompanied by a workman's cloth cap and overalls. The early weeks of apprenticeship brought another form of initiation by workmates who delighted in perpetuating the traditional tasks for new arrivals. He might be sent to the stores for a hatful of nailholes or a long stand, and be allowed to spend some time in the search for these non-existent articles. Shortly after the end of his
apprenticeship, and now qualified to receive the journeyman's rate for the job, he would reach the age of twenty-one and be given, symbolically, the 'key of the door'. Often given in the form of an embossed birthday card, and celebrated at a special party, the key symbolised the freedom from parental restraint and supervision. From this age onwards, having saved enough money to furnish a rented property, he would contemplate marriage and the establishment of his own home and family. He would also be old enough to drink with the 'men' at the local bar, to vote in Parliamentary elections, and to be called for service in the armed forces of his country. With the extension of the school-leaving age to sixteen and increased opportunities for further education, these stages became less clearly defined, and the search for real identity began. His aspirations were still, to a large extent, governed by the stratified society of which he had become a member.

This limitation does not apply to the tribal societies of Kenya. In the absence of hereditary positions of leadership, every member of the tribe can expect to achieve the highest positions of prestige and authority through the traditional stages. The only pre-requisite is that he should be fully aware of his responsibilities in that society. He must learn the correct forms of behaviour towards his peers, his elders and superiors, his juniors and inferiors, and members of the opposite sex at corresponding ages. He must learn the skills associated with his domestic tasks, develop the courage and strength to defend his cattle and his homestead, so that he may eventually become self-sufficient when he has a home of his own. He must also develop those qualities of
personality which his tribe considers to be desirable, and gain a knowledge of its history and traditions.

Some of this knowledge he acquires from his parents as he grows up; some he acquires from his own observation of the appropriate procedures; some he gains from members of his age-group; and the remainder from those members of the tribe best qualified to instruct the young in their responsibilities. His traditional education is a long process. For most of his life he will be a learner, and for much of it a teacher. There are few formal tests of his knowledge, but he will be required to prove himself in the real world of life. This, and the intense desire to become an acceptable member of tribal society provide the stimulus to learn, and being an accepted member of the tribe encourages the willingness to teach. It is this willingness to learn which characterises the students of Kenya's schools, but it is possible that this attitude may change when education is no longer the means of acquiring elitist status, when education is available to all who wish to accept it, or when it may become the instrument of deliberately planned social change.

In traditional society, education is the means of maintaining continuity by transmitting customary usages. Parents and elders wish that their children may obtain the same benefits from life as they themselves have obtained. In this respect, their attitude differs from that of the western parent who sees in education the means of achieving a better life for his children than he has received. Education in the western becomes a divisive force, even to the extent of separating children from their parental social stratum on achieving the improved status which education
has made possible. It is this possibility of achieving a different social position which makes education an instrument of social change.

Another factor of western education which differs from the tribal approach is the assumption that our ideas are infallible, or, at least superior to those of the peoples we presume to teach. This was particularly true of the early missionaries and their approach to religious teaching. This attitude is not to be found among the peoples of Kenya. Their tribal customs provide the means of differentiating themselves from even their closest neighbours. They are a tribe because they feel like one, and they are proud of their communal identity. Yet they acknowledge that their particular way of life has been adapted over the centuries to meet the demands of their own special environment, and therefore they do not feel justified in trying to persuade others to follow their peculiar customs. This is, perhaps, particularly true of religious beliefs and practices. Religion, because of its associations with tribal ancestors and close relationship to everyday life, is too personal to share with other tribes. It is true that most traditional beliefs have many aspects in common—even a common home for the gods on Mount Kenya. They also practise common values of respect for the old people, for parents, and a willingness to share their food and good fortune with members of their extended families, kinsmen and fellow tribesmen. It is for this reason that some tribes, who did not need the supposed benefits attached to mission education, could see no other value in Christianity. They could see little point in being required to adopt any different method of worshipping any other invisible 'god' or of 'treating their neighbours
as themselves'. They were probably more aware of the identity of their 'neighbours' than were the missionaries who were endeavouring to convert them.

The Content and Practice of Traditional Education

"Therefore, when the Europeans turn to Africa they should ask what is the African's scheme of education, how it works on the growing child, who controls it and what is the mechanism of the process? Making these queries sympathetically, the Europeans will be able to find what are the significant things in the tribal culture, what it is the community regards as all-important and indispensible to its progress and self-maintenance."\(^1\)

Unfortunately, at the time Jomo Kenyatta wrote these words, in 1939, very little anthropological material was available on the study of tribal education, but now that Kenya is independent and under the leadership of the author himself, it is possible that his leadership in the educational field will provide an example of understanding traditional educational practice and its adaptability for present purposes.

In Chapter V\(^2\), he details the process of education from 'the cradle to the grave' and emphasises its practical nature--a practicality which he rightly claims is missing from the European approach to African education.

Kikuyu society is based upon a system of age-groupings, and education at each stage is concerned with developing an awareness of the rights and responsibilities within his age-group.

The first stage of development, and therefore of education is that

\(^1\) Facing Mount Kenya. p.99  
\(^2\) ibid.
of early childhood, and at this stage of the child's life his education is in the hands of his mother or nurse (an elder sister or close female relative). Through the medium of lullabies chanted before the child goes to sleep, much of the history of family, clan, and tribe is transmitted whilst the child is still too young to respond. If, however, the child gives some indication that a particular melody disturbs him, his mother will change to a more acceptable tune whilst retaining the same basic story. Learning at this stage is almost sub-conscious and suggestive of modern methods of learning by listening to recordings while sleeping. When the child is old enough to talk he is questioned gently and sympathetically on the content of the lullabies. He is also taught by example the correct forms of speech appropriate to his stage of development, together with the ancestral names of his family and the names of his kinsfolk. He learns by listening to the informal songs and stories and slows his understanding of them by giving the correct replies to questions introduced into casual conversation, or in the form of a game of riddles. This gentle approach is not just that of a considerate parent but is typical of the respect which all older people show towards their youngsters as the traditional mode of behaviour and which, in return, merits the due consideration of the young for the old.

During the child's formative years particular attention is given to its physical development so that it may be encouraged to attain the Kikuyu ideals of straight limbs and an upright carriage. Both boys and girls in their play imitate and practise the skills of their elders. Boys run, wrestle, and develop their skills with the hunting and fighting
weapons of the tribe. A popular game, which may be observed at many primary schools, is that of shooting arrows or throwing pointed sticks through a rolling hoop. Girls plait grass into circular baskets, make cooking pots out of clay and use them to prepare food. Together the children play the universal game of 'father and mother' and build model homes from sticks and grass, prepare small cattle pens, and generally carry out their future roles according to what they have observed and been taught. Boys are instructed by their fathers in gardening, taught the names and uses of the plants by the roadside, in the forest and the garden, and be shown the boundaries of family, clan, and tribal lands. The boy's powers of memory and observation are developed by a carefully-graded series of practices with the family livestock. He is taught to look carefully at the herd and learn to identify each animal by its colour and configuration. He is then tested by having his own herd mixed with other animals and be required to sort them out. Certain animals of his own flock will be hidden and he has to identify the missing beasts by describing them. Girls are taught by their mothers the fundamentals of child-care so that they may undertake supervision of their younger brothers and sisters. It is a common sight along the roads of Kenya to see a small girl—possibly four or five years old—carrying on her back a child only one or two years younger.

The mother is responsible for co-educational aspects of the training of her children, and instructs them in the laws, customs, moral code and etiquette of the tribe by means of folklore stories and legends. The mental acuity of the children is tested by traditional riddles which are
almost incomprehensible to westerners. Special dances are arranged for children by their parents so that they may observe the correct form of behaviour. Severs criticism is levelled at parents whose children do not measure up to the accepted standards of traditional behaviour. Children of both sexes are given health training with particular emphasis on prohibitions regarding ritual uncleanliness and association with persons carrying infectious diseases. They are made aware of all aspects of wildlife and the various stages of growth at which plants and animals may best be utilised. Boys are instructed in the uses of many varieties of wood and leaves and the methods of preparing them efficiently. At all times this form of instruction emphasises the importance of the environment to the individual and the group. It is not an unrelated exercise in the observation of phenomena.

"Growing boys and girls learn that they have one thing to learn which sums up all the others, and that is the manners and deportment proper to their station in the community." ¹

The passing of the first stage of childhood is marked by the piercing of the outer edge of the ear in both boys and girls at the age of four to five years. For girls, the end of childhood is marked between the ages of six and ten years by the piercing of the ear lobe. This is gradually distended until it can be turned back on the remainder of the ear or used for carrying some useful article or ornament. Boys end their childhood between the ages of ten and twelve years by undergoing the same process. This differentiation between the sexes at the end of childhood is probably in recognition of the advanced physical maturity

¹ Facing Mount Kenya, p.106.
of girls from the tribal point of view. Soon after puberty they become eligible for marriage, whereas boys must wait until after they have fulfilled their period of service as warriors. For both sexes the onset of physical maturity is marked by the ritual of circumcision. This ceremony ensures eventual full membership of the tribe, and admits the initiate to membership of an age-group which gives lateral stability to the tribal structure; vertical stability is assured through lines of kinship. Uncircumcised individuals have no rights of possession, may not establish a homestead, may not wear long hair, and at feasts may not partake of certain joints. Boys who flinch from the operation are not allowed to enter the warrior grade, and in time of warfare may only remain behind with the womenfolk to defend the homestead. After his service as a warrior a man is eligible to take a wife; after the birth of his first child he becomes eligible to participate in religious ceremonies; and when his first child has been circumcised, the parent is finally recognised as an elder of the tribe.

With appropriate knowledge to be gained at each successive stage of progress through the social hierarchy, it can be seen why Kenyatta refers to the Kikuyu system of education as continuing from birth to death. It is also understandable why he regrets that:

"European educationalists have not realised the importance of this teaching, and the result has been that children who have been taught under European influence have almost forgotten or disregarded the Gikuyu customary law of behaviour."  

It is easy to see how attendance at primary school disrupts the whole structure of traditional education.

1 Facing Mount Kenya, p.110.
Parental consent is essential before the young Kikuyu may pass from one stage to the next, so it is necessary for children to carry out their obligations in all respects or risk being denied admission to full adulthood. Continued respect for all elders, the destitute, and aged parents is expected, and is the only way of avoiding the ultimate sanction of the curse of a dying parent. Furthermore, since co-operative labour plays such a great part in Kikuyu communal life, and since it is public opinion which determines the ease with which such assistance may be obtained when it is required, the individual must follow tribal laws and customs if he hopes to benefit from the help of others.

The whole structure of traditional education and practice is designed to make the individual aware of his own identity and of his appropriate position in society. To that extent, it has qualities which might well be adapted to meet western needs since these are the very qualities which seem to have disappeared from the modern system of education which can hardly claim to fit its graduates for the social life in which they will be expected to participate. In mediation it may be suggested that the essence of Kikuyu education was to prepare the individual to live in the present, whilst modern western education may be aiming to equip the individual for life in the future, but it would appear that educational philosophy has never been sufficiently in advance of the present to prepare for the future.
CHAPTER 6

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

The Early Missions

In 1845, soon after the British government had passed laws prohibiting the trade in slaves, mission stations were established on the west coast of India to provide accommodation and re-settlement for freed slaves. In connection with this programme of re-settlement, an African Asylum was set up by the Church Missionary Society at Sheranpur under the control of the Nasik mission. Under this system, freed African slaves were admitted to Indian schools, and an Industrial Training Centre and Teachers' College were established. By 1863, there were sixty-eight Africans in attendance at the college, some of whom were being trained for service in East Africa.

In 1846, the first mission station of the C.M.S. was established in Kenya at Rabai Mpiq, and a school house was erected. By this time the missions had had some experience of the importance of education as part of their programme of evangelisation in many parts of the world. For hundreds of years the churches had provided many of the schools in England, and since about 1820 had taken the opportunity offered by the government to bring education to the peoples of West Africa. At that time, schools had been established for freed slaves and negro settlers in the colony of Sierra Leone, where by 1860 a greater percentage of
children were attending school than in England. The Teacher Training College at Fourah Bay was opened in 1827 and achieved University College status in 1876, and secondary education for both boys and girls had been available since 1845.\footnote{J.B. Webster and A.A. Boahen, History of West Africa, p.136.} In other African countries the original enrollments of mission schools had been the sons of local chiefs, through whom the missionaries had hoped to establish the sincerity of their intentions by ensuring that the local form of authority would be maintained, with the additional advantage of education in the English style, and Christianity. By educating the sons of chiefs it was hoped that their example might be followed by others, with the support of the chiefs' authority, and through the facility of a common medium of communication.

Because of the conditions prevailing in Kenya at the time, missionary activity could not proceed as rapidly as had been anticipated. There was a shortage of adequately qualified personnel who were willing to undertake the long and arduous journey to East Africa and then face the hostile tribes and tropical diseases of the interior. It must be remembered that all missions were operating on funds supplied by private donation and that maximum utilisation of such funds was of primary importance. The main function of the missionaries was to obtain converts for their particular faith, and there were many opportunities available in the more accessible areas of West Africa. Thus, funds were limited in all areas of the mission field and the work had to be carried on with the available personnel. If they were not fully qualified teachers they were at least willing to share with local children their own knowledge by the same methods by which they themselves had been taught.
It must also be borne in mind that teaching standards at that time were not of the highest, for this was the period of large classes, monitor 'teachers' and payment by results. When highly-qualified teachers were scarce in England, it is not surprising that there was an even greater scarcity of qualified teachers imbued with sufficient missionary zeal to donate their skills under the difficult conditions of life in tropical Africa.

In 1873 the settlement of Freretown was founded to accommodate freed slaves in East Africa, and a school was opened to provide industrial and agricultural instruction. It is highly probable that the missionary instructors available were no more competent in the field of agriculture than the people they were trying to educate, so this form of instruction proved unpopular. Whilst there was an obvious motive for the missions to introduce education in order to advance their evangelism, there was no equally obvious incentive for the Africans to be willing to be educated. They had as little need for education as they had for Christianity. They were all capable of communicating with their fellow tribesmen and with members of other tribes with whom it was necessary or expedient to communicate. Therefore they had no need for the English language. They had proven themselves capable of deriving subsistence from their lands and therefore did not require instruction in agriculture. Even the introduction of new 'cash' crops made no immediate impact, for they had no use for money. Their own religious beliefs had served their needs throughout the memory-span of man, therefore they had no need for a new, and more abstract, religion. Yet
they were persuaded to attend schools and churches set up by the intruders. The reasoning behind this decision may be related to the prevalence of 'cargo cults' or millenarianism\(^1\) occasioned by the impact of a modern culture on many primitive societies.

Briefly, the reasoning is as follows: "These strangers do no work. They do not dig, neither do they tend cattle, yet they obtain food and clothing. These things they receive from the ships which come from far places. This must be some form of magic. The secret must lie in some observable phenomenon. Their god lives in the building called 'church'. He may only be addressed in the strangers' language. In order that we may receive these same benefits, we must visit that same church. We must learn the language through which we may address the god. If the white man is the witch-doctor, we must please him so that he will act on our behalf with his god." The almost magical belief in the value of education on the part of primitive peoples has been noted by several writers, yet this is not too far removed from western beliefs in the magical properties of the university degree, and the prevalent insistence that 'dropping-out' is the route to all that is undesirable. It is not surprising, at least to the writer, that the Africans of Kenya showed little enthusiasm for practical or vocational education and insisted, above all else, that they should be given European academic education.

At this stage, there was little danger of education becoming

\(^1\) See Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound and Kenelm Burridge, Mambu, for further information on Cargo Cults.
a factor disruptive of tribal tradition since the freed slaves had already been torn from their homes and families. From this point of view, it may therefore seem reasonable that the Phelps-Stokes Commission should base its recommendations on consideration of the facilities provided for negroes in the United States. Yet, in ignoring the fact that slaves rehabilitated in East Africa had at least been returned to a familiar environment, and that not all East Africans were released slaves, the commission is guilty of discrimination of the worst type. It assumed, apparently, that all peoples of the same skin colour must be culturally alike and responsive to the same stimuli, and it ignored the difference in historical background, present environment, and economic requirements of particular groups.

Nevertheless, education did become a force capable of disrupting tribal life in many parts of Kenya.

With the establishment of Freretown, the African Asylum was transferred from India to East Africa to provide a nucleus of Africans who could assist the missionaries in their schools.

When the territory officially became a Protectorate, and thus the direct responsibility of the British government in 1895, the way became clear for the missions to follow the route of the railway and extend their activities into the interior. Within the next two decades a bewildering array of mission organisations were represented in Kenya. In the Kikuyu area there were the CMS,\(^1\) CS,\(^2\) Roman Catholic Consolata Fathers, the Gospel Mission and the AIM.\(^3\) In Nyanza and Kavirondo, in

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\(^1\)Church Missionary Society. \(^2\)Church of Scotland. \(^3\)African Inland Mission.
addition to the CMS and Aim there were: the FAM,1 SDA,2 AICG,3 INM,4 MHF,5 and the Lumbwa Friends Industrial. Ukambani had the AIM, CMS, and FHG,6 and at the coast there were the CMS, FHG, and UM,7 whilst Jubaland was served by the SLM8 and OHG9 and in Masailand the AIM.

Broadly, the division was between the Roman Catholic missions and the wide variety of Protestants, and there was strong competition between these two sectors of the Christian faith. In most districts, Catholic and Protestant churches and missions existed in fairly close proximity, and with educational facilities as the incentive, set about the quest for converts. Students denied admission to the school of one mission could apply to that of the neighbouring mission, so at least this form of competition acted to the advantage of the African in search of education.

By 1907, the missions were finding that the provision of education in Africa was an expensive business, and that technical and agricultural education, in addition to being more expensive than academic education, was less conducive to evangelisation. The missions were also being urged to concentrate on the provision of schooling, even if this should result in the limitation of more direct methods of conversion. This attitude towards the importance of education was justified by the Superior of the Consolata Fathers when he wrote in 1908:

"Si la religion est, par sa nature même, la mère de la civilisation, bien souvent, pour arriver à la religion, il faut passer par la civilisation. La connaissance de Dieu est pour

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The Colonial Government and Education

The establishment of a Department of Education for Kenya in 1911 was the first recognition by the Colonial Office of its responsibilities in this field. Although the Department was primarily concerned with the provision of facilities for European children, it also recognised the financial difficulties of the missions and allocated funds as grants-in-aid for educational purposes. The Department at this time was authorised to open and operate schools of its own in areas where no other authority had yet provided them. Under this authority the department adopted a policy of separate racial schools and this continued as official policy until Independence. Separate schools also necessitated separate financial arrangements. (By 1959, the differential costs were: African £5, Asian £28, and European £36 per student per year for primary education.)

Although the first schools had been established at Kikuyu about 1903, the Kikuyu themselves showed little interest in CMS mission schools until 1909, by which time they had become aware of the employment opportunities available to those who could read and write English. By 1909 the CMS claimed to have baptised 23 Africans and to have 42 more candidates under instruction for baptism. Under the auspices of the mission, African teachers were responsible for the operation of eleven mission outstations, and twice as many African teachers were being

1 The Missionary Factor, p.199.
trained for similar work.

The beginning of World War I in 1914 resulted in the closure of several schools as East Africa became involved, and teachers and students were recruited to serve as carriers for the campaign in German East Africa. Annual Reports of the Colonial Office during the period of hostilities present a generally dismal picture of education. The European school in Nairobi had been closed owing to an epidemic of meningitis which had also affected the Indian school. The Arab school at Mombasa was making little progress because of the 'indolence' of the local population, and in the Masai Reserve, 'The Masai themselves offer little encouragement to Missions' although the number of students in attendance averaged forty during 1917. On the credit side, 'The number of natives who are able to read and write is increasing considerably' (1913). A new syllabus for European children had been drawn up as a result of the headmaster's tour of schools in England, Switzerland, France and Germany. In 1916, the Roman Catholic Mission is credited with 450 converts—the majority being Kikuyu—and by 1917, the CMS and Catholic Missions had a total of ten stations and twenty-three village schools in Kikuyu District. On the other hand, 'Results of mission teaching in Kikuyu District are not encouraging.' (1918) Further away from the East African sector of the war, the situation was brighter. In Nyanza Province, on the shores of Lake Victoria and close to the earlier missionary activities in Uganda, night schools were in operation under European supervision, and 121 day schools were controlled by African teachers. The Report gives credit to both pupils and
teachers: "The natives as a whole are anxious to be taught, and a marked improvement in civilisation is noticeable among mission pupils."

Unfortunately, the Report does not give any indication as to how the standard of 'civilisation' was judged.

Two years after the end of World War I, the Phelps-Stokes Fund financed a commission to study the possibility of applying to certain areas of Africa the experience gained from the system of education devised for negroes in the United States.

"The Commission ... made detailed suggestions as to how education could be adapted to the needs of African society, so as to promote its development without causing its disruption.\(^1\) In recognising that the education of the masses must be related both to the physical environment in which they lived and to the social groups into which they were organised, it forestalled by several years the random criticisms of anthropological scientists..."\(^1\)

It would seem, then, that while the recommendations of the commission were received with enthusiasm, they were not applied with equal enthusiasm in this particular context if 'several years later' the educational system had, in fact, become a disruptive force, and also subject to those criticisms which it aimed to forestall. (In this respect, it would appear that both the commission and the anthropologists had neglected to take into account the reactions of the native peoples to the education they had already received from the mission schools.\(^2\))

However, it seems rare for recommendations of educational commissions to be fully implemented in any country. It may be noticed from a study of Reports, Acts, and the Findings of Commissions that there is agree-

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\(^1\) My italics.  
\(^2\) See p. 100 following for reactions to the Jeanes' School plan.
ment as to what ought to be done in any given educational environment, but implementation of recommendations is invariably restricted by considerations of finance and the availability of competent personnel to carry them out.

Oliver goes on to point out that:

"Africans were realising... that the missions offered them their best chance of 'rising', and they connected Christianity with this opportunity... their motives were seldom 'high or spiritual'; but whereas in India boys would troop to mission schools without any intention of accepting Christianity, in Africa it was the case that nearly all were anxious to be prepared for baptism."

In view of the fact that most stages of traditional development in African tribes were identified through some form of initiation rites, it must not be considered surprising that those seeking education which was 'attached' to Christianity should wish to undergo the accompanying physical rites of the religion. Not even the missionaries would consider all baptised Africans to have fully accepted Christianity, though in the absence of evidence to the contrary they may have been included in the numbers of the 'converted'. Similarly, when initiation into the tribe involved the taking of a new name appropriate to the status of manhood, the ceremony of initiation into the Church could not be considered complete without the assumption of a name characteristic of the new belief. Many Africans adopted comparatively obscure Biblical names, chosen apparently at random from both the Old and New Testaments.

The Oldham Report of 1923 noted for the information of the

1The Missionary Factor. p.266-267.
Colonial Office that nine-tenths of the education of native children was being carried out in mission schools. From the financial point of view, this was a desirable arrangement because the missions were able to recruit qualified staff at much lower salaries than could the government. As has already been noted, neither government nor missions were able to call upon the services of highly qualified people to staff their schools or training colleges, but the missions could at least obtain staff of equivalent qualifications for about one-fifth of the official salary rate.

Anderson notes that this resulted in:

"...dull, expedient and poorly related teacher education... which has proved very hard to eradicate in later years."¹

This is, of course, valid criticism of the situation in Kenya, but it is also equally valid for many other countries—especially those which preach modernisation but practise financial expediency. The poor standard of teaching in the schools must not be attributed to the level of training in the teachers colleges.

Also resulting from the Oldham Report was the formation of Advisory Boards on Education to be convened by Governors in their own colonies, and an overall Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa to meet in London. At meetings of the latter committee representatives of government and the missions were to formulate a general educational policy for all colonial territories.

¹ The Struggle for the School, p.17. See also p. 127 below.
A second Phelps-Stokes Commission visited East Africa in 1924. At this time, the government of Kenya was spending four percent of its revenues on education, but as the Oldham Report pointed out, ninety percent of children were being educated in mission schools which were not being financed by the government. Out of a total of 939 schools, only 314 were aided or managed by the government, and there were 43,311 pupils in attendance under the control of 1,326 African and 238 European teachers. Because of the spread of education and the establishment of many village schools outside the immediate vicinity of the mission stations, there was little opportunity for the schools to be kept under adequate supervision. Many schools were under the direct control of teachers of limited academic achievement and limited professional training. Consequently, it was highly desirable that some form of overall control be instituted. The Educational Advisory Committee for Kenya established several District Education Committees composed of representatives drawn from those authorities responsible for schools in the district. Through these committees a system of registration of schools, inspection, and licensing of teachers was arranged. The framework was thus formed for the implementation of a central educational policy for all the schools of Kenya.

Coincident with the formalisation of a supervisory structure came the general recommendation of the Phelps-Stokes Commission that "...education must be vitally related to the needs of the people..." and since the majority of the people lived in villages, it was decided that education should have a rural bias.
MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF IMPORTANT SCHOOLS

- Railway to Kisumu/Kampala
- To Nairobi
- To Mombasa
- To Tanzania

Kenyatta University

Limuru

Kiambu

Githunguri (Independent Schools)

Jeames High School

Kenya High School

Nairobi Airport

Scale 1 in. = 32 mls
Jeanes School

In order to train suitably qualified teachers for this purpose, the Jeanes School was begun at Kabete, near Nairobi.

The school took its name from similar schools which had been set up in the United States under the auspices of the Jeanes Fund. This fund, which originated with a gift of $10,000 from Miss Anna Jeanes, was used to encourage the development of education in Negro communities in the southern states of America. Supported by the fund, qualified teachers planned to introduce a more practical form of education into village schools and to emphasise the need for hygiene. The President of the Jeanes Fund was one of the members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa which recommended the introduction of a similar type of training into Kenya. Thus, although Jeanes School at Kabete was not financed in any way by the American fund, it took its name from the type of training it was designed to offer.

Students for the programme were recruited from the missions who were invited to nominate their best teachers for the two-year course. In its early years the school ran into many difficulties. Teachers who took the course regarded it as a retrograde step since they could not reconcile the emphasis on traditional aspects of education with what they had been taught at mission schools. They were being expected to relate the home village to the pursuit of education in the local schools, and this in itself was disturbing to parents who had sent their children to school to learn European standards and values. Demands for land on
which to arrange demonstration plots to improve methods of farming were also regarded with considerable suspicion, especially when children were expected to work on these school gardens when they might well be carrying out similar tasks for their parents. It seemed unreasonable to the parents that they should have to pay fees for their children to do farm work. The missions also felt somewhat disturbed by the scheme. They had been invited to nominate their best teachers for training, and were then deprived of their services when they returned to their home areas. On the other hand, local government officials felt that since the government was now paying two-thirds of the Jeanes School trainees salaries they could be called upon as required to open up new courses in community development.

The school, which had started out under such auspicious circumstances, thus found itself facing problems on all sides, but there were entries on the credit side too. By 1929, both Tanganyika and Uganda had become interested in the development and wished to have places made available for their students. Also, many local officials in various government departments—particularly those of medicine and agriculture—were expressing approval of the work that was being done in their fields by the Jeanes teachers. Gradually the school began to arrange special courses at the request of government departments, and as the missions could no longer afford the luxury—even at one-third salary—of employing teachers whose time was not spent entirely in the classroom, so the basic Jeanes' course became modified. By 1950 the Jeanes School course had been reduced to one of five weeks duration in specific
subjects concerned with aspects, other than academic, of rural education and community development. At this point, some 1500 students per year were able to benefit from the courses which were offered.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the reactions to the Jeanes School programme and its graduates is the general rejection by all parties concerned. Here was a programme to improve the standard of teaching and supervision of mission schools ultimately being rejected by the missions on the grounds of expense. It was a programme designed on the recommendations of the commission which had been instructed to consider the defects of the educational system of Kenya. It had been designed to moderate the European emphasis of an academic education more satisfactorily to meet the requirements of an essentially rural population. It had been rejected by these same people because it was not an academic programme. It had been planned to incorporate local traditions and folklore, but, unfortunately, by the time it was instituted such traditionalism was no longer considered desirable since it had generally been condemned by the missions. It had been instituted to improve the qualifications of the better teachers so that they might contribute more efficiently to the educational programmes of their own areas, but because it did not increase their own academic standards and had to improved status, they showed little enthusiasm for it. Possibly the most important factor for its rejection by the teachers was that it condemned them to return to the very areas from which they had hoped to escape by virtue of their educational qualifications.
Alliance High School

Jeanes School was founded at Kabete in 1925. In the following year a much more successful school was founded at Kikuyu, also on the outskirts of Nairobi. This was the Alliance High School, which became the first secondary school in Kenya, and throughout the years that followed became the academic goal of all African students. It was established under the auspices of the Protestant missions who combined their resources to set up this one secondary school on a Christian foundation.

Alliance High School has been well served since its inception by its three headmasters. For twenty-two years from 1941 it was under the guidance and control of one of the most outstanding educators of Kenya, the late Carey Francis. He was a fine teacher and leader, of strong Christian principles, who expected his staff to set a similar example to all their students. His successor, Laurence Campbell, emphasised the Christian aspect of the school's activities in his Notes to New Members of Staff: "From the first Alliance has set out to be a Christian family of boys and masters." Service to others and an interest in athletics were major principles of the school's administrators in conjunction with the maintenance of high academic standards. Over the period of twenty-seven years during which the school has been preparing candidates for the School Certificate Examination, only 12 out of 960 have failed to achieve the required standard. This is an admirable record, but it must be considered against the background of the conditions of entry to the school. For many years, Alliance was

1 Quoted in Education since Uhuru, p.112

* See map p.101.
the only secondary school in Kenya for African students and was, therefore, able to select its limited intake from all successful male candidates in the Kenya Preliminary Examination. The aim of all students from the time of their acceptance was to achieve the School Certificate itself, and not necessarily any lasting understanding of the subjects of the examination. (In this respect they differ from their English counterparts only in the intensity of their desire and application to the task!) Throughout the years the school thus built up its reputation for success which enhanced its desirability in the eyes of all potential secondary school candidates. As more primary school students passed the qualifying examination, the field for selection also increased until in the late nineteen sixties some 15,000 applications had to be considered by the selectors. These were reduced to half by the Ministry of Education before the school applied its own selection policies. On the basis of satisfactory references from their primary school headmasters, combined with the attainment of a position in the top three places in their final primary school class, the list is cut to about 1,000 potential candidates. Tests in Arithmetic and English, devised by the school staff, are utilised further to reduce the number of entrants to be interviewed for the final selection process. In view of this wide field of selection it is not surprising that Alliance High School has maintained an enviable record of academic success. The intensive course of study and the formal, unimaginative methods of teaching are designed to perpetuate this record. Out of a forty-hour week of classroom work, English and Mathematics account for fourteen
hours, History and Geography for six hours, Chemistry, Physics and Biology for eight, and six other subjects fill in the remaining twelve hours. In Form III, one year before the final examination, this list of subjects is reduced to the eight or nine subjects in which the student will be examined. These include: English Language and Literature (as separate subjects), History, Geography, Mathematics, Biology, Physics and Chemistry (separately or in combination), Swahili, French, and Religious Knowledge. Stabler states: "Teachers are therefore tempted to give model answers and to coach carefully." and one of the criteria by which students judge the ability of a teacher is the quantity of relevant notes which he provides. These may then be studied in the final months before the examination, preferably without further classroom instruction. If the syllabus has been adequately covered from the set textbooks, supported by copious notes and specimen answers to probable questions (which may be forecast with some degree of accuracy by reference to previous examination papers) then the retentive memory of the average African student is all that is required to guarantee success.

Carey Francis was fully aware of this intense desire for academic qualification on the part of his students, who accepted the firm Christian discipline of the Alliance staff as part of the price of their education. He accepted the fact that there would not necessarily be any lasting conversion to Christianity, and he acknowledged:

"I think that they (the schoolboys) are like chameleons. When at school they fit into the surroundings, the ideals of the school. Then they go out into the world... and they
slide part way at any rate into their world."

The final test of his example of leadership and service may indeed be shown by the President of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and his colleagues in the government. In his speech to the school in 1966, the President said,

"My memories of the Alliance go back to the very earliest days, when my brother James Muigai was in the first batch of new pupils. The great majority of my colleagues in the Cabinet today have attended this school... Many of our senior Civil Servants and Officers of the Administration can thank the Alliance, not merely for scholastic training but also for qualities of wisdom and judgement and national pride."²

Whilst the foundation of Jeanes School represented the government's recognition of the need to correlate the educational system more directly with the needs of the rural population, the Alliance High School provided concrete evidence of the cooperation of Protestant missions to provide much-needed secondary education. Co-operation between various groups of Kikuyu was beginning to be noticed in another sector of the educational field.

Independent Schools

In 1924, as a result of Kikuyu concern about the encroachment of Europeans on their tribal lands and customs, the Kikuyu Central Association had been founded as an organisation for political action. Its members realised that their best hope of gaining recognition of their demands lay in being able to present their case in the courts, and to the government overseas, in the language of the colonialists. This resulted in a demand for education more for political ends than for

¹ & ² Quoted in The Struggle for the School, p.24.
personal advancement, and independent schools were established in various areas of Kikuyu lands. Meanwhile, Kikuyu resistance was also hardening against persistent missionary interference with traditional customs, and the resultant denial of education to those who did not conform to the mission standards. This resistance came to a head in 1929 as a result of a concerted effort by the missions to eradicate the custom of female circumcision. Church members who practised or condoned the custom were barred from all activities sponsored by the mission; teachers in mission schools were dismissed. Many Kikuyu could see no reason why they could not continue to accept the Christian faith and at the same time continue with their own customary practices, so they set up their own churches and schools on a local basis. These schools formed the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association. A second organisation, more determined to remain free from European influence, separated from the Church of Scotland Mission schools to form the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association. In order to obtain training for their ministers, the KKEA became associated with the African Orthodox Church which had its headquarters in South Africa. The KISA, on the other hand, formed the completely separate African Independent Pentecostal Church as a purely Kenyan body. In 1938, Peter Mbiyu Koinange, who was the first African from Kenya to pursue a full university programme of study overseas, returned to his homeland with a Master's degree in Education from the Teachers College of Columbia University. Almost immediately he set about trying to establish cooperation between the KKEA and KISA to raise funds for an African Teachers College in Kenya.
Traditional Kikuyu cooperative efforts, utilising competition between age-groups, were organised to collect money for this purpose, and the college was established at Githunguri with an opening class of twenty-five student teachers. Later the institution developed to include facilities for primary, secondary and adult education.

In 1946, Jomo Kenyatta returned from England where he had studied at London University and produced his book "Facing Mount Kenya" as an anthropological study of his own people under the guidance of Professor Malinowski. Whilst in England, Kenyatta had also been negotiating with the British government on behalf of his Kikuyu people. He joined Koinange at Githunguri, and in his lectures to senior students emphasised his political aims for the establishment of an independent African society in Kenya.

By this time the colonial government had allocated funds for the assistance of independent schools and were willing to aid the Kikuyu schools. The Kikuyu were, however, reluctant to exchange their complete independence for government supervision of their schools, and so continued to finance their own system. Administration of the schools was becoming increasingly difficult because of a shortage of qualified teachers, frequent changes of staff, and the increased commitment of Kenyatta and Koinange to political activity. They were also facing a demand from parents for a more academic education for their children, and this resulted, in 1949, in the introduction of courses leading to the School Certificate examination. Thus, even the indigenous Kikuyu

* See map p.101.
schools were obliged to submit to parental pressure in favour of the European style of education.

In spite of recommendations by anthropologists, educationalists and administrators that schools should have a practical and traditional bias, the early association of academic education with personal advancement still remained. Githunguri school did not eventually present any candidates for the School Certificate examination because it was closed by the government in 1952, one year before the first class would have completed its course. It was at this time that the colonial government began to associate the independent schools with political activities connected with the Mau Mau movement and closed them down. There does not, however, appear to be any neutral evidence to establish the government's claim. One hundred and forty-nine KISA and twenty-one KKEA schools were closed between 1952 and 1953, and there was an overall drop in primary enrollment from 129,879 to 98,508 in the same period.

Kenya High School

Meanwhile, in 1930, another school had been established which represented a significant development in the educational system. This was the Kenya High School (for Girls) which opened with ninety students on the upper floors of Nairobi European Primary School. It was a boarding school for the daughters of settlers and from its primitive origins grew into what has been acknowledged to be one of the finest girls' schools in the Commonwealth. During its early years boarding

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1 See The Struggle for the School, Chap. 8 for a detailed account of the Independent Schools movement in Kenya.

* See map p. 101.
accommodation was utilised wherever it could be found, including huts which had been built as temporary quarters for military personnel.

Sanitary facilities were especially primitive, consisting of "...bucket latrines, tin baths, and an inadequate water supply." After a series of protests by parents about the inadequate facilities, building started on new premises in 1947 with a government allocation of 25,000.

The new buildings included ten dormitory units each to house fifty girls. Each unit was identified by name for administrative and competitive purposes, and commemorated famous women such as Elspeth Huxley, Charlotte Bronte and Florence Nightingale. Two such units were combined into one building block, three storeys high. Each 'house' had its own common room, partitioned dormitories, washing facilities and storage space, and each had a resident housemistress, two assistant mistresses, a matron and servants. There was a close relationship between the girls themselves since each house accommodated representatives of all Forms in the school. Domestic tasks were allocated on a basis of seniority, and senior grades were identified by different coloured ties worn with the school uniform of grey skirts and white blouses.

Kenya High occupies a total area of 160 acres which includes twenty tennis courts, six hockey pitches, a swimming pool, chapel, a quadrangle of classrooms, eight science laboratories, a library, and an outdoor theatre. Eventual government expenditure on the school exceeded 700,000, and through the enthusiastic encouragement of the

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1 *Education since Uhuru*, p.88.
Headmistress, Miss J.M.A. Stott, parents were persuaded to finance the building of the swimming-pool, the chapel and the library. The school was built to accommodate 500 boarders and 100 day students, with a staffing ratio of one teacher to thirteen students. The school has maintained an excellent academic record in the School Certificate examination, and in their Higher Certificate years students were encouraged to study for the Honours Degree programmes of English universities. Honours boards in the main assembly building commemorated the successes of those girls who gained scholarships and university entrance.

Again, as in the case of the Alliance High School, Kenya High owed much to the spirit and enthusiasm of its head teacher. Janette Stott was aware of every one of her girls as an individual, and this inspired the confidence of parents. They, too, became identifiable individuals to this remarkable woman.

The first African girls were admitted to Kenya High about 1961, but these were unusual cases. One had been attending boarding school in England for several years, and the parents of both were able to afford the high rate of fees. Moreover, they were both closer to the age of the European girls in their classes than were the later African entrants. Fees amounted to £165 per year and uniform costs added another £40 to the total basic cost of maintaining a girl at the school. This represented about three times the average income of most African families.
Integration

Although the first non-European students had been admitted to Kenya High, the step could hardly be described as the beginning of a multi-racial policy. More correctly, it merely indicated that girls of appropriate academic achievement and in the corresponding age range were not barred from attendance on any racial basis. The real barrier was economic and cultural.

When deliberate integration became part of the government's policy for the formerly European schools, it was realised that the standards which they had established could not be maintained at a lower cost, and therefore fees must remain at a level beyond the reach of most African parents. The present government is thus obliged to subsidise all those African girls whose parents are unable to meet the high costs. It is further evidence of the intense desire for not only a European-style education, but for the best education of its kind regardless of cost.

There were difficulties other than financial in the process of integration. Kenya High, Prince of Wales, and Duke of York (the corresponding boys' schools, since renamed Nairobi School and Lenana School respectively) were all established on the English Public School model, complete with the prefect system. Culturally, these schools were English and accepted a homogeneous group of students of common background, and usually at twelve to thirteen years of age. African girls rarely attained the required academic standard for entry until the age of sixteen, by which time they were considerably more mature than their
European counterparts. They were unaccustomed to taking orders from
girls younger than themselves, and generally resented being treated as
children. Many of them were unfamiliar with the use of knives and
forks for eating and were unaccustomed to European food. Few of them
possessed the reserves of clothing which European girls considered to
be normal accessories to boarding school life. Their difficulties in
integrating are obvious, and it must also be remembered that many of
their European co-residents had not yet adapted to the idea of accept­
ing African girls as equals. Such problems resulted in open and
serious conflict in the boys' schools, but even though there was no
corresponding conflict at Kenya High, girls of all races must have
experienced considerable tension during the period of adjustment.

The Colonial Attitude

It may seem strange that the first secondary school for European
children should have been provided for girls, but perhaps this may be
explained by the typical British attitude towards education.

Many of the parents in Kenya were members of the colonial admin­
istration who had been educated at Public School and wished their sons
to continue the family tradition of schooling. Boy's names were
customarily submitted for entry to Public School several years before­
hand, and actual admission depended then on attainment of the required
academic standard. This was usually ensured by attendance at a recog­
Preparatory School. Fees for such schools were high, but not beyond
the reach of parents in the higher levels of government service, nor
of the established settlers. Fathers knew from their own experience the standard of education offered by their school and the kind of life the boy would be expected to lead. Further, it had already been established that the simple fact of attendance at the right Public School tended to outweigh the actual academic gain as a means of securing employment later. From this point of view, money spent on the education of boys was an investment in the future. For girls it was difficult to justify the expense of overseas boarding school, and there were few outlets in Kenya for highly educated girls. Thus, when parents had made Kenya their home, there was little incentive for grown children to seek their own futures outside the colony. Therefore the provision of a secondary school for girls—even such a primitive foundation as that of the Kenya High—offered an adequate compromise.

Higher Education

Since most European students completed their education at the universities in England, and the few African students proceeding to higher education could also be accommodated in institutions overseas, there was little demand for university facilities in East Africa. Makerere College at Kampala in Uganda had offered post-secondary courses since 1936, and until 1938 had only accepted students from Uganda, and it was not until 1940 that it offered degree courses under the auspices of the University of London. However, in 1938, places were offered to the other two East African territories on a basis proportionate to their government's contributions to the college's endowment funds. Tanganyika was given 40 places and Kenya 20 compared to the 100 allotted to Uganda.
By 1940 the allocations had become: Tanganyika 31, Kenya 28, Zanzibar 9 and Uganda 113, but it was not until 1949 that Makerere became a University College.

**Primary Education**

Progress in the field of Primary Education was equally slow.

The Beecher Report of 1949 established the general aim for African education for the next ten years, to provide primary education for forty per cent of African children of school age, intermediate education for ten per cent and secondary education for less than one per cent. In order to accommodate these numbers of students it was anticipated that 2000 primary schools (for the first four years of schooling), 340 intermediate schools (for years five to seven) and 12 secondary schools would be required. Shortly after the projected period—in 1961—there were actually more than twice the anticipated numbers of schools to totals of: 4,096 primary, 928 intermediate, and 41 secondary. These are remarkable figures when it is realised that the ten-year period had included the whole of the Emergency during which the Independent schools had been closed down and which had also seen a drop in primary enrolment of 24 per cent from 129,879 to 98,508. It was also noticed that although the total enrollment was reduced, more of those attending tended to remain in school than over any other similar period. Many of the statistics for education in Kenya show similar discrepancies, and all available figures at all stages must be considered against the background of the people at the time under investigation.
It must be remembered that school fees had to be paid for all children at all stages of the educational system and that the ability of parents to pay the fees depended upon many fluctuating factors. Firstly there was the basic problem of raising money from the sale of surplus crops, and this obviously depended on the season and the demand in the market-place. The availability of a surplus depended on the number of other commitments on whatever surplus was available from the harvest, i.e. the number of dependent relatives less fortunately placed than the original producer, the time of the harvest, and the availability of storage against future needs. There were also other demands on the available money—replacement of essential equipment for the home and garden, clothing, taxes—and the money itself represented the barest minimum in a limited cash economy. Frequently, as fees increased at the higher levels of schooling, it was considered preferable to spread the benefits of education so that younger children might have at least one or two years of primary schooling instead of allowing an older child to proceed to the next and more expensive stage. Thus, there was always a fringe of parents whose investment in their children's education was limited by circumstances entirely beyond their control. There were many additional factors introduced during the Emergency. Some schools were closed down and there were no other places available. Schools and teachers were prime targets of some of the forest bands, so attendance could be quite hazardous, especially when children had to travel long distances to school and were under curfew regulations. Many Kikuyu were removed from their
homesteads to village sites away from the forest edges, and the establishment of these villages did not necessarily coincide with the establishment of a nearby school. A similar drop in enrollment also coincided with the Kenya government's announcement that education would be provided free after Independence. When this proved to be a premature ambition and it was decided to continue with the existing fee structure, enrollment rose again.

Thus, at various stages, and for many reasons, enrollment and attendance at the primary schools of Kenya has tended to fluctuate. This fact must be borne in mind in considering later statistics. If the number of children in attendance at Standard II classes in any one year is greater than the number in Standard I of the previous year the difference may be accounted for in several ways. Some students may have returned after one or two years away because of the inability to pay fees, some because they were obliged to undertake domestic tasks, and others repeating Standard II after finding it a difficult year. Wastage generally maintained a fairly high rate, reaching 77 per cent in 1953 and gradually reducing to 28 per cent in 1959. These represent the figures for the first four years of primary education only. At the end of those four years it was necessary to pass an examination in order to qualify for the intermediate stage from Standard V to Standard VIII (later shortened to Standard VII), and then a further examination for the very limited number of places available in secondary schools. Only ten per cent of school age children could expect to reach the intermediate level, and less than one per cent could be
admitted to the secondary stage. A further, and more drastic reduction took place after the first four years of secondary school when the School Certificate examination determined which were to be the fortunate few students who would be invited to continue for two more years to the Higher Certificate level.

It was the aim of the Beecher Report that this proposed structure should encourage the majority of children attending primary schools to remain in their home areas, there to utilise their limited degree of literacy:

"Illiterates with the right attitude to manual employment are preferable to products of the schools who are not readily disposed to enter manual employment.

Teachers do not have the convictions, the knowledge or the training in order to inculcate the right attitudes to agricultural and pastoral and other manual activities.

The boy who passed through primary school, as we recommend it should be, and did not go on to Intermediate School, should have retained his rural attitudes as well as having received an education in literacy which will be capable of further development through welfare projects."

(It is not known if the capitalisation of Intermediate School is an intentional emphasis in contrast to primary school—if so, it is an emphasis of desirability which the African student would certainly share.)

Education Overseas

In 1959, when Mr. T. Mboya arranged his first airlift of African students to colleges in the United States, places had been found for 81 Kenyans. In the following year this total was raised to 289, and these were students who had been unable to qualify for further education.

1 Quoted in Divergence in Educational Development, p.6.
in the limited facilities in their homeland. By 1970 the number of students from Kenya studying abroad had reached the surprising total of 4,331, distributed among 31 different nations of Europe, America, Asia and Australasia. Of this total, almost 1,000 are studying in non-English-speaking countries, and these include 297 in U.S.S.R. 109 in East and West Germany, and 88 in Bulgaria. Almost half of the total number are studying in Britain and the U.S.A. with one-third of these in the latter country. Altogether there are more than two and one-half times as many Kenyans engaged in higher education overseas than are accommodated in their own University of Nairobi, and of the total overseas only 173 are supported by official scholarships awarded by, or arranged through the Kenya government. For many years African students have explored every possible source of further education. When on leave from Kenya in 1959, the writer visited a secondary modern school in the north of England where, coincidentally, the headmaster had received by the morning mail a letter from an intermediate school student in Kenya requesting help in obtaining further education. There was no indication of how the student had obtained the address of this obscure school, but his letter is indicative of the interpretation of the term 'further education;' To the average student in Kenya it meant remaining in the educational orbit—in any form of course, in any institution—until some opportunity occurred to gain real academic advancement. Two students at the Teacher Training College at Kagumo, both of whom had failed School Certificate, left college—one within a month of completing his two-year course, the
other one week after being admitted—the former to undertake some unspecified course at Addis Ababa, the latter to study Medicine at Milan. Other students and African members of staff accepted opportunities to follow courses in Physical Education and Science in New Zealand, and Social Studies in Holland and Denmark. Since these were all students who had failed even to obtain admission to the fifth form of local secondary schools, it is difficult to see how they could be suitable candidates for further education in institutions where instruction was given in languages other than English or their own vernacular. In addition to the scholarship funds made available to them, these students usually arranged a local tea-party at which they requested support from their local neighbours and friends.

The availability of such additional opportunities for participating in some form of further education provides an important incentive for African students to remain in contact with the educational system for as long as possible. There are many willing volunteers for any course of training which will delay the moment when the student must accept the fact that his own education has come to an end. He will more readily accept that form of employment which will offer him at least the hope of education overseas, whether it be in agriculture, forestry, community development or any other department which entails temporary return to the rural areas. A good forestry officer may be given the opportunity to study in Canada, and he will have a guaranteed job to return to until such time as a more profitable opportunity occurs in business or government.
It is doubtful if there are any more enthusiastic searchers after education than the African students of Kenya.
THE SCHOOLS OF KENYA

Buildings

The schools of Kenya vary considerably in size, construction and ancillary facilities. At one end of the range is the Kenya Girls' High School and at the other extreme is the typical 'bush' school. Most of the bush schools are those established and maintained by the many missions which cater for the educational needs of the majority of African children of school age whose parents can afford to pay the fees. The majority of these schools are situated in a 'compound' of from two to six acres of land, usually donated for the purpose by elders of the local village which will be served by the school. The school is usually located on the outskirts of the village, or roughly equidistant from several homesteads each of which would be unable to support a school of its own. In view of the fact that land is a precious commodity in Kenya, few schools occupy a greater area than is necessary to provide space for classrooms, a playing field of about two acres, and possibly a school garden. Any small stream running through, or near to the school site besides providing water for irrigating the garden has many times been the site of Horatio's defence of the bridge over the Tiber. Visiting examiners have trudged many miles to view such dramatisations of the activities of the heroes of history during
periodic school inspections.

The classrooms themselves are constructed from locally-available materials and by traditional building methods. Much of the actual building work is carried out by womenfolk of the village, many of them parents of children who will attend the school. Such communal work on schools and maintenance of access roads is a characteristic of village life in Kenya. (It has been known for classes to be suspended by the headmaster of the school until necessary repairs have been carried out to his satisfaction.) Poles cut from the forest form the main structure of walls and roofs. These poles will have been cut by the men of the village and carried to the work-site by the women, many of them grandmothers, but all proud of their ability to carry the heavy loads with their headstraps. The walls, leaving open 'window' spaces, are interlaced with thinner branches before being filled in with mud. Inner and outer surfaces, and also the floor, are plastered with a mixture of mud, cow dung and ashes to provide a smooth, binding finish. In many schools it was customary for the students to clean up their classrooms at the end of each week. On Friday morning every child brought to school a piece of banana bark containing wood ash and cow dung as his contribution to the communal activity. Before the end of afternoon school, desks and forms were removed from the classroom and washed down, leaving the floor clear of obstructions. The floor was then liberally splashed with water and resurfaced. Children smoothed out the new surface with their bare feet and hands, and ended the afternoon liberally smeared to the elbows and knees with the grey
muddy mixture.

Roofs were thatched with grass or banana leaves or covered with flattened kerosene cans. Few such roofs were completely rainproof—especially against the heavier tropical storms—and it was not unusual for children to have to huddle together away from the heavy drops which dripped through holes in the roof on to their desks and books. Under metal roofs, the din of rainfall was loud enough to render the teacher's voice inaudible until the storm ceased. Teaching was difficult under such climatic conditions, but somehow the work went on.

Many schools were situated high on the ridges of Kikuyuland and on the slopes of the foothills of Mount Kenya, and at such altitudes were subject to the cold dampness of seasonal heavy mists and low cloud. At this time of year it was difficult for either teacher or children to keep warm enough to concentrate on their respective tasks.

Conditions underfoot varied from the floating red dust of the dry season to the slippery mud of the rains, but at no time was there any apparent diminution of the enthusiasm of the teachers for teaching or of the children for learning—even when both may have been soaked to the skin on their journey to school.

Teaching methods varied according to the ability of the teacher and the length and efficiency of his own education, but most of them applied themselves to the best of their ability. In spite of instruction in more modern methods of teaching at the Training Colleges, the majority soon reverted to the methods by which they had been taught
during their own years in primary school.\(^1\) This usually entailed a considerable amount of learning by rote and questions phrased in the form of sentences with the final word omitted\(^2\) together with long unbroken lectures by the teacher, often read directly from the textbook. There were, of course, many occasions when the teacher had the only available copy of the textbook, and could devise no other method of sharing the information. Fortunately, the traditional method of learning by listening enabled the children to master most of their work in this way without undue hardship.

**Equipment**

In primary schools, the dust outside the classroom was used as a renewable surface on which to practise forming letter and numeral shapes with a pointed stick. Thorns from the school hedge replaced thumbtacks for attaching visual aids or examples of children's work to the mud walls of the classroom until termites ate their way through both the illustrations and the wall. Blackboards, desks, storage cupboards, books, and even the poles supporting the walls and roof were all subject to attack by these insects. The blackboard, rarely more than about twelve square feet per classroom, propped against a shaky easel or suspended from the wall by nails and string, provided the main teaching aid and could be used as a substitute textbook by means of copious notes. Few schools could afford the luxury of one textbook

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1 This accounts largely for Anderson's comment, p.99 above.
2 e.g. Teacher: "Christopher (Columbus) was born in Genoa, " Class I Christopher was born in \(\ldots\)? "
per student, and tattered copies of the fundamental arithmetic books had to serve many students for several years.

In the classroom, students sat at plank tables on plank benches or at combined desk and bench units which accommodated from two to five students per unit. Most of the school furniture was made from local wood only recently cut from the forest and sawn in the mill, and often exquisitely grained hardwood was combined indiscriminately with the coarsets of quick-growing boardwood. The emphasis at all times was on economy of operation so that the limited money available could be used to educate as many children as possible.

The writer was for some time responsible for the teaching of woodwork—in addition to mathematics and other subjects, since the total staff consisted of three members—at a Government Secondary School in Kenya. The total allocation of money for this new secondary 'school' amounted to about £100 which had to cover the cost of textbooks and all other supplies for an initial intake of twenty-five students.

The first task was to build the workshop. Students cut and carried from the forest six-inch diameter posts for the corner posts and four-inch posts for the cross members and roofing beams. All cutting was done with the 'panga' the universal tool of Kenya. This machete, in the hands of all ages of both sexes, was used for cutting, cultivating, weeding, and digging holes for planting. It was also used for digging the three-feet deep holes into which the posts were placed to form the main supports of the walls and roof. The roofing
members were nailed to lateral posts which were notched to fit the tops of the wall frames. The roof was thatched with banana leaves. 'Benches' in the 'workshop' consisted of two-inch thick planks nailed on to posts inserted into the ground. On those benches, wood was planed and sawn, using the minimum of additional equipment, to make other necessary items including tool-racks, plane bodies, saw frames and cupboards. Carving 'chisels' were made from six-inch nails beaten flat and sharpened on a grindstone. 'Sandpaper' was the abrasive leaf of a local tree. For handicraft projects local materials were used for reasons of economy, and included animal skins—but first the animal had to be found, chased and caught. Clubs, bows and arrows also had to be made before the hunt could even begin. After flushing the animal from a nearby wood, it was chased by twenty enthusiastic students along the main road before it doubled back and entered the compound of the neighbouring Teachers' College. As the frightened animal ran past the classrooms, all the other students abandoned their lessons--and their surprised tutors--through the open windows and joined in the chase. The small buck was eventually killed, the skin removed and cured, and the meat consumed in the students' dining hall. Part of the skin was used to make a small one-string fiddle, which represented the last handicraft exercise of its kind undertaken for some time.

Most schools had sufficient space for a soccer pitch for the boys, a netball pitch for the girls, and one or two 'Tenniquoit' courts for general use. All marking of boundary lines was done with the panga, cutting three-inch deep channels, and surprisingly few accidents resulted
from this additional hazard. All of this space was fully utilised in organised P.E. lessons and during breaks between school periods. The performance of Kenya's athletes in world competition reflects the enthusiasm for all forms of physical activity.

In these typical primary schools, teachers of limited academic background worked hard with inadequate equipment to teach large classes of up to fifty children.

Curriculum

The curriculum was basically similar to that of the English schools of some twenty or thirty years ago, and the method of instruction generally that of rote learning.

Subjects covered included Religious Instruction, Arithmetic, English (and/or Vernacular), Swahili, History, Geography, Music, Art, Handicrafts and Rural Science. Timetables and the rate of progress through the curriculum were largely correlated throughout the district so that most classes of the same standard were working at the same time of day on the same topic of the same subject. Such standardisation may have limited the approach of the more imaginative teachers but it did provide firm working guidelines for the majority, besides ensuring that all children received equal coverage of relevant course material. Because of the shortage of money available for the purchase of textbooks there was little opportunity for radical change in the content of any course, and most books were utilised for several years until they became tattered and barely legible. Occasionally, class sets of text-
books would have to be collected and transferred from one classroom to another in schools which operated more than one stream in each standard. Shortage of textbooks in many vernaculars necessitated the adoption of an alternative language as a common medium of communication—either a neighbouring vernacular, Swahili or English. From about 1960, with funds made available by the Ford Foundation, English was introduced as the medium of instruction from Standard I in as many schools as could be provided with qualified teachers, teaching materials and adequate supervision. In areas where there were neighbouring schools offering a choice between instruction in English or in the vernacular, most parents chose to enrol their children in the English-medium school. This was merely confirmation of their belief that the English system of education was the best available and, therefore, the only one suitable for their children. It was this attitude which had caused the abandonment of a more practical form of education for African children. What was desired by African parents was not that form of education best suited to the development of their own environment, but that which would lead to entry into the European world of business and administration. Even teaching, which necessitated working in African reserve areas and entailed working exclusively with local children, was regarded as a less desirable occupation than working in the office of a major business concern or in local administration. Many teachers who qualified for further education, usually overseas, opted on their return for any form of employment which would take them out of their home areas. In the early pre-Independence elections many of them stood as candidates
on platforms in which the main plank was their superior education.

Pupils

Children were normally enrolled in Standard I at the age of six years to begin what was at that time an eight year primary course. By 1964 this had been reduced to seven years in many areas, but still entailed the same actual time spent in school since under the eight-year programme Standards I and II attended only half time. The rate of change over to the new programme depended to a large extent on the availability of the modified textbooks, and, of course, the money to buy them.

(When many schools in Mau Mau areas were re-opened after the Emergency, it was not unusual to find boys and girls of fourteen years of age sharing desks with much smaller and younger children in the classrooms of primary schools. The writer enrolled a Form I secondary school class in 1955 in which the ages of the 'boys' ranged from sixteen to twenty-three years. The eldest student, beginning a four-year course leading to the Cambridge School Certificate, with the possibility of proceeding to Higher Certificate, was already married and had two children.)

Because of the absence of controlled registration of births, the ages of students were somewhat flexible. Parents usually remembered the birth by reference to some important event of the year—events which often gave the name to an age-group—but rarely related it to the English calendar since most tribes identified their own system of seasonal time. Students often utilised this flexibility by quoting whichever age was most appropriate for their immediate purpose e.g. 16 years of age on

* See Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, Mau Mau from Within, Chapter IV for a first-hand account, pp.88-105.
the application form for entry to the secondary school and 18 (the min-
imum) for entry to the Teacher Training course.

With the abolition of the qualifying examination, progression
through the school to Standard VII was automatic, depending only on
reasonable proficiency in all subjects and the ability of parents to
continue paying fees. In cases where the student had experienced some
difficulty with a particular year of the course, he might be encouraged
to repeat that year, especially if the following year entailed a higher
rate of fees. It was not unknown for some headmasters to maintain
their records of success in the Kenya Preliminary Examination (for entry
to secondary schools) by concentrating exclusively on the brighter
students in a manner similar to that of headmasters of English schools
when grants-in-aid depended on the number of students passing the final
examination. The opportunity to participate in further education de-
pended upon reaching a high enough position in the examination list,
being able to afford the higher rate of fees, and being within reach of
a school at which there was a vacancy. One student at Meru Secondary
School in 1955 travelled over four hundred miles from his home at
Mandera to attend school each term. In the absence of any form of
public transport, he had to travel on any trader's lorry which was on
the road at the time, but was rarely late for school.

Most children of school age wore a uniform—short sleeved shirt
and shorts for the boys, and short sleeved dress for the girls—made
from hard-wearing khaki drill cloth. Local tailors utilised every
inch of material, so that some garments still carried the imprint of the
manufacturer's trade mark and city of origin. This uniform usually had to last for several years, so that of the child beginning school would be two or three sizes too large, and was only discarded when it could no longer carry any more patches or when it became too small for the growing child. Pupils identified with their schools by attaching strips of coloured braid to the pockets of their clothing. Many boarding schools and Training Colleges provided uniform clothing for their students, but this was frequently reserved by them for very special occasions, chief of which was the journey home at the end of term.

Although the 'bush' schools accommodated the majority of African students in the educational system, there were, in addition, many institutions with excellent buildings and full academic facilities which included science laboratories, libraries, gymnasia, workshops, as well as dormitories, common-rooms and dining rooms. Full utilisation of these facilities was frequently limited by shortage of money for ancillary equipment. On one occasion the writer had to review a full term's work in Form II Chemistry to determine the minimum quantities of chemicals required to demonstrate the basic experiments. The only sources of heat available in the laboratory were a small spirit lamp and a pressure stove, and there was one balance to serve the needs of twenty-five students. Even this was preferable to the first year of operation when the entire resources of the 'science laboratory' consisted of three forms for the students to sit on. Most experiments were contrived to be carried on out-of-doors using empty bottles, food cans and kerosene containers. This was the state of affairs in a
Government Secondary School. Conditions for teaching science were even more primitive in the local primary schools.

This brief account of the situation in the schools of Kenya from 1955 to 1964 is intended only to set the background for those who have had no first-hand experience of the teaching environment in a developing country. Its main purpose is to show that the term 'school' means many things when applied to buildings and facilities, and that the really important factor of education is that relationship which exists between teacher and student within the classroom, whether that classroom be of mud and thatch or of glass and concrete.

Teachers

Prior to Independence, the teachers of Kenya were graded for salary purposes according to their own educational background and professional training, or lack of it.

At the lowest point on the scale was the teacher who had completed eight years of primary education, had failed the Kenya Preliminary Examination and was thus ineligible for secondary education, and had had no professional training. In most cases these students were also below the standards required for entry to Teacher Training Colleges, or too young for immediate acceptance.

Prior to taking the K.P.E. students expressed their preferences for further education in the event that they achieved a high enough standard. Secondary school was the usual first choice, followed by the Railway Training School, with Teacher Training in third place. Training
Colleges thus made their selection from those students who had expressed some preference for training as teachers and had not qualified for any other form of further education. A supplementary examination set by the college reduced the numbers of students to be called for interview. The final decision depended on the student's fluency in oral English and his physical presence. Many were rejected because of physical immaturity, and often because their was little apparent correlation between their stated age and their observed physical development.

Untrained teachers obtained their 'professional' training from memories of their most recent teachers and also by means of advice from their more experienced colleagues. Some were advised to seek such temporary employment to gain experience before re-applying for entry to a college in the following year. Some were recruited directly by the mission or the school to alleviate a temporary shortage in the teaching staff. Many remained as untrained teachers for several years before gaining entry to formal teacher training courses. Selection of untrained teachers for professional courses was made on the basis of an evaluation of their work in the classroom by members of the college staff and recommendation by the Supervisor or the District Education Officer.

Students selected for teacher training enrolled for a two-year course which included some limited development of their academic standard beyond the primary school level, some basic reinforcement of the essential material—especially in English and Arithmetic—of the later years of primary school, general teaching method with some
reference to the psychology of the learning process, and more detailed
emphasis on methods of teaching the basic subjects. Depending on the
qualifications and interests of the college staff, instruction in Art,
Handicrafts, Music and Drama might also be given. Teacher Training
Colleges were staffed by a mixture of expatriate and local teachers.
The minimum qualification demanded of expatriate staff was the Ministry
of Education Teaching Certificate and some teaching in primary schools.
Local teachers were appointed on the basis of their teaching ability,
oral English, and individual skills. Students who had shown exception­
tional aptitude for teaching and had above average ability in a particular
subject were sometimes appointed directly to the staff of the college
on completion of their own period of training. (So much depended on
the interests and qualifications of college staffs that certain incon­
gruities developed within the system. English and Scottish country
dancing was taught to African men students while a wide variety of
traditional dancing was neither shared nor developed. Children in
the primary schools of Kenya were taught songs in English because there
was no-one competent to teach music in the local vernacular. English
styles of art were taught where there was no local tradition of colour
or design. If incongruous, these examples show at least some attempt
to broaden the experience of potential teachers, but serve to emphasise
the lack of anthropological training of those expatriates involved in
the process of education. It must also be pointed out that Kenya as
a whole had not been the subject of much detailed ethnography and there
was generally little opportunity for expatriates to gain relevant
experience in their own free time.)

A typical day in the writer's own experience in Kenya was as follows:

0645 - Check students' dormitories, ensure beds made and dormitory cleaned.
0715 - Supervise breakfast in students' dining room.
0730 - Own breakfast.
0750 - College assembly, hymn and prayers.
0800 - First class of the day.
1000 - Tea break.
1015 - Resume classes.
1215 - Lunch break; inspect dining room.
1330 - Resume afternoon classes.
1630 - Tea break.
1700 - Compound cleaning, gardening, sporting activities - all supervised.
1830 - Supper - supervision of dining room.
1930 - Supervision of private study in classrooms.
2200 - Lights out - check dormitories.

College and school work also continued on Saturday morning until 1230 to complete a forty-hour week in the classroom.

Teaching Practice was the most important part of the training programme. Students were allocated in pairs to classes in local schools, six to twelve students to a school depending on the number of classes available and the accessibility of the school for ease of supervision. A normal day's supervision entailed up to forty miles of driving over the rough roads of the reserve areas, with frequent delays during the rainy seasons when cars became bogged down in the deep mud. At least
one period of practice during each year would entail transporting the students in batches to schools within a radius of about fifty miles where they could be accommodated in rooms near to their classrooms and have facilities for preparing lessons and also for cooking their own meals. Supervision of these periods of practice entailed making arrangements for college staff to stay in mission or government accommodation close to the primary schools for a week at a time. At the end of the two-year course there were examinations in the basic subjects and teaching methods, and a final teaching practice during which a representative selection of the students were also observed by visiting examiners representing the Ministry of Education. Their assessments of the students' teaching abilities were correlated with those of the resident staff before reaching a final decision on the success or failure of individual students.

After qualification, teachers were normally appointed to serve in schools close to their home areas where they would be most familiar with the local vernacular and teaching conditions. In most cases this arrangement also enabled the teacher to establish a home within the tribal area and to supervise his own garden which in suitable districts would probably be devoted almost entirely to a cash crop such as coffee.

Progress up the salary scale was difficult but not impossible. Students entering college with the minimum academic standard were given the opportunity of improving their qualifications by taking the KPE examination at the end of their first year. Some were also encouraged
to retake those School Certificate subjects which they had failed at the first attempt. Possession of the appropriate certificate ensured promotion to the next stage of the salary scale, the minimum of which approximated closely to the maximum of the stage below. There was thus sufficient financial incentive for any teacher to seek promotion, but limited opportunity. Students who had failed an examination at the first attempt rarely found reserves of academic strength for a second attempt, especially when they were also trying to cope with the additional demands of a new job or a college course. For many, the main entry to at least the next higher scale lay through the up-grading courses offered by several training colleges. Serving teachers were selected on the basis of their proven ability in the classroom and their fluency in oral English to attend a one-year course designed to extend their scope within the educational system by enabling them to teach a limited range of subjects at a higher level. Fortunately perhaps for many African teachers working in classes approaching their own academic level, the traditional attitude of learner to teacher did not encourage questions much beyond the topic being dealt with.

Such teachers have been the backbone of the educational system of Kenya for many years, and until the general standard of education can be raised it is probable that teachers of similarly limited abilities must continue to play the major part in any scheme of reconstruction. It will require a determined effort on the part of the Ministry of Education to raise the prestige of the teaching profession before any significant improvement can be expected. This cannot be part of
a short-term policy of expediency and cannot be solved by financial inducement alone. First, teaching conditions must be improved so that competent teachers may have smaller classes in adequately-equipped classrooms, and in order to decrease class size it will be necessary to increase the number of poorly qualified teachers. Making limited resources available to greater numbers of children does not, in itself, raise the general standard of education, but it has the advantage of exposing more children to the educational process so that those best qualified may eventually reach the higher levels. The alternative—of reducing class size by limiting entry of children to the present facilities—could only intensify the elitist nature of the educational system of colonial times. Similarly, by allowing more teachers to enter the profession with lower qualifications, the general standard of teaching may be lowered temporarily, but some especially competent teachers may be expected from the mass. As long as the practically competent, though academically limited teacher of Kenya retains the enthusiasm for teaching to match the children's enthusiasm for learning, the benefits to the nation as a whole can only increase.

This enthusiasm for learning must, however, be related to the provision of constructive outlets for the products of the system. This is a problem more properly related to the economic potential of Kenya, and to government policy in this sphere. (It is not only in the developing nations that too many students are educated beyond their point of maximum value to the community.) Just as the nationalist movement for independence found its roots in the discontent over inadequate
opportunities for participation in government, administration and business on a racial basis, so the government of Kenya could itself meet similar demands from a discontented educated majority.

The government's policies for the future of education will be examined in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 8

EDUCATION AFTER INDEPENDENCE

General Aims and Development

Faced with a shortage of trained personnel to fill the middle- and higher levels of management and administration posts immediately following Independence, the government sought to solve this problem through an improvement in the country's educational facilities. It also sought to broaden the basic aim of its educational system beyond the needs of the individual to develop social functions, to encourage national unity, and to develop indigenous leadership and skills. The shortage of these attributes could be largely blamed on the European approach to African education during the colonial period. Individual literacy with its attendant value to the administration was the primary aim, and secondary school output provided many of the lower clerical grades in government and private business. With a racially-defined hierarchy in both government and business--Europeans generally occupying the higher levels and Asians the intermediary positions--there were few opportunities for qualified Africans to advance in any profession except those which could be of direct value to the government in its dealings with the local people. African graduates could be employed in the educational system, in the medical service, in agriculture or forestry, but usually at the District or Provincial level.

Although there had been some progress in the process of "Africanisation" in the later years of colonial administration, the gaining
of independence found the Kenya government facing a serious shortage of trained indigenous man-power. Since many of the best (academically) qualified Africans were employed in the educational system, this provided a temporary supply of graduates and School Certificate-holders for administrative offices, and their places in the schools had to be taken by less well-qualified, but equally enthusiastic teachers.

The government thus set about an immediate increase in all educational facilities, hoping in the early years of its administration to provide primary education free to all children. This promise, which has as yet not been fulfilled, led to a temporary drop in enrolment in primary schools which was soon restored to normal levels when it became apparent that fees would still be required for several more years.

The Kenya Education Commission under Professor S.H. Ominde was set up and given the task of providing solutions to the educational problems of the country and suggesting methods of implementation.

In the first three years of independence much progress was made. Many new schools were opened and the number of students at all levels increased. More teachers were being trained, and there were more entries to the University of East Africa. Among the new institutions opened were Kenyatta College, previously the site of an army barracks on the outskirts of Nairobi and ideally situated for this conversion, the Kenya Science Teachers' College, the Kenya Institute of Education, which included a Research Centre and a Curriculum Development unit.

The previous system of central administration with its separate
departments for European, Asian, and African education gave way to a single non-racial administration. Schools which had previously admitted only European or Asian students became fully integrated and soon could show an enrolment of thirty percent African students, many of them supported by government bursaries. Fees at these schools were not reduced since the government recognised that the benefits offered by these particular institutions could not be obtained at lower cost and it was preferable to restrict its financial aid to those students who required it most.

At the primary level the course was consolidated to cover seven years instead of eight as previously, but this was an administrative rather than an educational difference. While the primary course consisted of eight Standards, Standards I and II attended only half time—usually Standard I in the morning and Standard II in the afternoon—and under the new system both attended full-time. This rearrangement did result, during the years of transition, in increased numbers of students taking the Kenya Preliminary Examination, and for the same period there were increased numbers seeking admission to the secondary schools.

**Primary Education**

By 1966 the transition to the seven-year primary school course had been completed and there had been an increase of 152,000 in the enrolment figures since 1963. With this increase, more students took the Kenya Preliminary Examination and the total number of passes exceeded the number of candidates in 1963. These figures suggested
that the increase in numbers enrolled had not resulted in a lowering of the standard of education given nor of the quality of output. The 1966 results showed a pass-rate of 48%. The increase in the number of children enrolled did result in a lowering of the average standard of teacher employed in the primary schools. Many of the better qualified teachers had left to take up better positions in administration so a higher proportion of unqualified teachers had to be recruited to fill the gap. Over 30% of primary teachers employed in 1966 were untrained.

A major step forward in primary school methodology in the same period was the extension of the New Primary Approach which had previously been known as 'English Medium'. In addition to using English as the medium of instruction from Standard I, the NPA involved the children more actively in the learning process. In order to carry out this programme new materials were required, new textbooks, and teachers who had been specifically trained to use them. Close and competent supervision of practising teachers was also necessary to ensure that the materials were being used correctly. The application of this programme was one of the responsibilities of the newly-formed Curriculum Development and Research Centre which had absorbed the Science and Language Centres which had previously been responsible for implementation of English Medium. The name of the programme had been changed by the new government when it envisaged utilising the same approach in languages other than English as new textbooks became available.
In the early years of independence, when the financing of the primary school programme had been left in the hands of new local authorities, schools often had to be closed down for lack of funds. Sometimes this could be used as a lever to encourage parents to pay taxes but frequently it resulted in teachers being dismissed because there were insufficient funds to pay their salaries. New pay scales had been introduced by the government in 1964 to encourage recruitment to the profession, but uncertainty of tenure after appointment to the new scales led to considerable unrest among teachers. Thus, in 1966, the government acting through the Ministry of Labour established a Board of Enquiry to examine teachers' complaints about their terms and conditions of service. As a result of this enquiry, the Teachers' Service Commission was established as the sole employer of teachers throughout the country. The government was committed to making up the deficit between local finances and school fees in the cost of primary education. At that time primary fees ranged from Ksh.50 to 60 for Standards I to IV and Ksh.60 to 70 for Standards V to VII.

Secondary Education

In seeking to reduce the shortage of trained personnel, the government devoted its attention to the secondary school programme, and between 1963 and 1966 the number of secondary schools increased from 151 to 400 and the overall enrolment from 30,120 to 63,193 over the same period. Many of these new secondary schools were built and financed entirely by local subscription, receiving no support from government sources, and 47% of the total intake of Form I students
LOCATION OF NEW SECONDARY SCHOOLS

LAKE VICTORIA

RAIASABIT

WAJIR

MOMBASA

INIAN OCEAN

150 MLES.

200 MLES.
attended these 'Harambee' schools. The government did, however, include secondary schools at Wajir and Marsabit in its own development programme. Previously the nearest secondary school to these isolated areas had been the government boarding school at Meru. In order to receive assistance from the World Bank for the expansion of secondary education facilities, the government was obliged to open three-stream schools wherever feasible. In this way the range of subject-specialisation could be increased and the cost per pupil reduced, but this was countered in cases where such a school could only be fully utilised if it were a boarding institution, since boarding schools were much more expensive to maintain. Thus, it was more economical in some areas to open smaller single-stream schools. There was an additional, though less tangible, gain from these smaller schools in the satisfaction given to isolated areas in having their own secondary facilities, being able to retain their children close to their customary environment, and having their needs recognised by the central government in Nairobi.

Because of the tremendous increase in the number of secondary schools opened it was impossible to maintain previous standards of staffing. Although the total number of graduate teachers employed rose from 1081 in 1963 to 1573 in 1966 the overall percentage of graduates fell from 67% in 1963 to 52% in 1966. The reduction was felt mainly in the Harambee schools which could not afford the higher salaries involved; government aided secondary schools still retained 62% graduate teachers. Overseas teachers from the Peace Corps, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the British Ministry of Overseas
Development, and other volunteers accounted for 36% of secondary school staffing. It would be unwise, however, to regard these expatriates as fully efficient members of the instructional staff. As Vaizey points out:

'It is extremely difficult to export teachers. Native teachers can be trained in overseas countries; books and other equipment can be sent, but the most important cost of education—teachers—has by its very nature to be locally provided. There are language barriers. There are the difficulties of using foreigners to teach children whose cultural assumptions differ so widely from their own as to present almost insuperable difficulties except to the very gifted teacher. Increasingly there are national or racial barriers to what is regarded as cultural imperialism.'

Few gifted teachers appear from the ranks of the younger volunteers, and whilst their concrete contributions to the educational scheme may be deficient, there can be little doubt that their enthusiasm for experience increases mutual understanding and some inter-cultural exchange of values. Older teachers are not necessarily more competent in the new environment, but both young and old cannot fail to increases their own awareness and their value to the profession as a whole.

As was shown with the increase in primary enrolment, the standard of achievement in examinations increased at the secondary level. The percentage of successes in Overseas School Certificate increased from 62% in 1960 to 72% in 1966, and 80% of Higher School Certificate candidates attain at least the minimum standard of qualification for entry to the University of East Africa. The Kenya Junior Secondary Examination was instituted to recognise the attendance and achievement

1 The Economics of Education p.128.
of those students who have, perhaps only temporarily, reached the limit of their academic achievement or their financial resources. The same examination is also recognised as the standard required for the promotion of a teacher from the P3 grade to P2.

By 1966 there were thirty-four secondary institutions offering courses beyond the Form IV level to Higher School Certificate and Advanced General Certificate of Education, and three—Kenyatta College, Strathmore College, and Kenya Polytechnic—which offered Forms V and VI without being involved with the lower levels of secondary courses. Under the provisions of aid from USAID, courses in Vocational Agriculture had been introduced into six secondary schools, and provisions were also made for the introduction of equivalent courses in Commerce, Industrial Arts and Domestic Science.

In December 1966 it was proposed that fees for education beyond Form IV should be waived in all secondary schools with the exception of the high-cost schools. Fees in government-aided schools are KL 10 for day students and KL 22.10 for boarders (boys) and KL 15 for girls. In Harambee schools and some privately-run commercial schools fees range from KE25 to KE50.

Technical Education

In 1963 a total of 938 students were enrolled in two-year technical and trade courses at seven schools which offered only these courses and demanded a pass in the Kenya Preliminary Examination as the minimum standard of entry. By 1966 there were 1,349 students enrolled in technical courses and these included those who had already
completed a two-year course at a Technical and Trade School and had been accepted for a further two-year course culminating in an Intermediate Certificate which was the pre-requisite for acceptance into approved apprenticeship training schemes which necessitated attendance at the Kenya Polytechnic. With the success of this initial course, four other Trade Schools were adapted to follow the new programme with the aid of the International Development Association. Secondary Technical Schools were opened to provide students with a higher level of academic education combined with technical skills before proceeding to more advanced technical courses at the Polytechnic. Enrolment at the Polytechnic thus increased considerably over the same period, reaching a total of 1,600 in 1966 as compared with its 1963 total of 965 students. Many of the courses offered at the higher level were run in close conjunction with industry and allowed students to combine their studies with full- or part-time employment in industry. By the end of 1966 more than half of the staff of the trade schools were Kenya citizens.

Administration

With the abolition of separate racial sectors in the educational system, the Ministry was reorganised on a more functional basis. At the head of the system was the Minister of Education with the direct assistance of a Permanent Secretary, a Chief Education Officer, Deputy Chief Education Officer and three Assistant Chief Education Officers. Each of the latter officers was responsible for a separate field: one for primary education, district administration and teacher education;
one for secondary and technical education; and the third for general academic standards and curriculum of all schools and teachers' colleges and also for examinations. Under the previous form of organisation the tasks of this officer had been carried out by the Chief Inspector of Schools. All Provinces, except the North-East were to have a Provincial Education Officer, and below them each County or Municipal-ity was to have an Education Officer of appropriate status. By the end of the period under review, the majority of these senior posts had been filled by Kenyans.

The new Inspectorate increased its staff in Nairobi from twelve to seventeen and its provincial staff from five to seven, the total to include two Inspectors to specialise in Technical Education. Overall responsibilities of the Inspectorate included inspection of secondary schools, revision of curriculum, setting and moderation of nationwide examinations, assessing textbooks and promoting the production of new books to meet the requirements of Kenyan schools, organising in-service courses for teachers, and examining student teachers on their final teaching practice.

**Teacher Education**

The main aim of the government in its reorganisation of the programme of teacher education was to consolidate the centres of training. Fifteen smaller colleges were closed during the period from 1963 to 1966 and five new colleges were opened to accommodate a total of 5,474 primary and 413 secondary teachers in training at 33 colleges, only one of which was unaided. The Western and Eastern Area Delegacies
which had previously been responsible for teacher training were incorp­
ated into the new Kenya Institute of Education which was to be
administered by a board of twenty-five delegates. Ten of these were
to come from the Teachers Colleges, five from University College, Nairobi,
five from the Ministry of Education, two from the Kenya National Union
of Teachers, two from voluntary agencies concerned with education, and
the whole to be under the chairmanship of the Chief Education Officer.

Two new colleges were opened for the training of teachers for
secondary schools and several new courses for teachers were inaugurated.
A graduate programme in teacher education was introduced at University
College through its Department of Education, culminating in a Diploma
of Education. In addition, the same department instituted a course
in Education to run concurrently with the major subjects in the last
two years of the student's degree programme. After one year's intern­
ship in a secondary school graduates of this programme were granted
qualification in teaching. Further to develop the output of teachers
for secondary schools, extra courses were offered at Kenyatta College.
For holders of the Higher School Certificate there was a one-year
course, and for School Certificate entrants a three-year course, both
leading to qualification as teachers on the S1 scale. For certain
subject specialists already qualified as P1 teachers there was a one­
year up-grading course to the S1 level. Kenya Science Teachers
College also instituted a three-year course to prepare School Certi­
ficate holders for the S1 qualification to specialise in the teaching
of Science.
The University

Perhaps the most important change in the University of Nairobi occurred in 1965 when it severed its previous connection with the University of London. This connection had existed since the College at Makerere in Uganda had assumed University status and granted degrees under the London University. Now the University of East Africa existed in its own right with Colleges in Makerere, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, the capitals of the three territories. Each of the constituent colleges had instituted its own specialist Faculties which it shared with the other two, whilst all three presented their own general degree programmes. Makerere offered specialisation in its faculties of Agriculture and Medicine; Nairobi in Architecture, Engineering, and Veterinary Science; and Dar-es-Salaam in Law.

At the end of 1963, there were 523 students from Kenya enrolled in the University of East Africa--275 at Nairobi, 228 at Makerere and 20 at Dar-es-Salaam--and by 1966 these had risen to 597, 287, and 133 respectively. In addition, 3600 Kenyan students were still enrolled in universities, and this represented a drop of two hundred since 1963. Students were still expected to enroll for basic degree courses in the university of their own territory, and the government established a central counselling and selection service to administer the overseas scholarship programme.

Africanisation of the College administration had been accomplished with the appointment of Dr. A.T. Porter from Sierra Leone as Principal, with Kenyans in the posts of Deputy Principal, Vice-Principal,
Registrar and Finance Officer. The University appointed its first African Professor in 1964.
Adaptation to Environment

Traditional societies evolve through a process of adaptation to their immediate environment, and as adjustment takes place, the society becomes stabilised and establishes a structure which will enable the society to perpetuate its existence in that environment.

The total structure so devised contains elements of social, political, economic, and religious structures all closely interwoven into an entity which identifies itself as a 'tribe'. Whilst several components of any of these individual structures may be held in common by other groups of similar racial origin, it is the total structure which identifies a particular tribe. Disruption of any component of any structure thus changes the identity of the tribe, and imposes further adaptation to meet the new demands, and the extent to which a tribe is able to make these adjustments without disturbing the foundations of its basic structure determines its capacity for survival.

Characteristic identifying features decrease in number, and divisions between allied groups become less clearly defined, until all that remain are differences in language, dialect or idiom, and the remnants of traditional customs and rites whose origins and purposes
have for long been clouded by the passage of time. With the gradual disappearance of tribal divisions characteristics of the nation appear. With the adoption of a common language, vernaculars become dialects and characteristic vowel sounds become accents; with the development of new industries, many traditional subsistence tasks become hereditary crafts perpetuated in more artistic forms than were necessary for their primary function; tribal history becomes legend and folklore; tribal religion becomes superstition with its attendant beliefs in good and bad 'luck'; and traditional rites the source of new dance forms or initiation into benevolent, ethnic societies. Traditional education devoted to the continuity of tribal custom becomes absorbed into the philosophy of the family in moral and ethical values, while the formal educational process which replaces it is concerned with change and progress.

The Present Problem

The government of Kenya is faced with many of these problems of development.

In achieving the state of adjustment to environment, it must be apparent that the most important factor for all tribes is that of basic subsistence within its chosen environment. In so far as various tribes require different forms of subsistence they may co-exist within the same geographical areas without the necessity for physical conflict. Some tribes become dependent upon others, some become inter-dependent, and some become isolated from their neighbours - even when occupying limited areas within the territory recognised as belonging to another tribe.
Tribal boundaries are more carefully recognised than the arbitrary boundaries which have been imposed by colonial powers, and where the colonial geographical boundaries separate members of a tribe, it may be difficult for either country to claim complete loyalty from either part of the tribe. This is an administrative problem which occurs in many parts of the world where boundaries have been realigned, either by plebiscite or by arbitration, because of the inherent strength of ethnic loyalties.

Within Kenya today there still exist small tribal groups which continue to exist on the fundamental subsistence of gathering and hunting. Because no other tribal groups have needed to encroach on their chosen areas, they have been able to exist in isolation within the forests surrounded by agriculturalists, or in small pockets within the larger areas over which the pastoralists herd their cattle. Fortunately, perhaps for the government, such groups in the country today represent only a very small part of the total population. They include the Boni who number less than one thousand and live near the coast, between the Tana and Juba rivers. Together with the Ariangulu and Sanye tribes they eke out a precarious existence in the thorn bush and desert areas, using poisoned arrows to kill small game animals and occasional elephant, rhino and hippo. In killing the latter animals for their ivory, horns and teeth they come into conflict with Game Rangers whose task it is to preserve the dwindling numbers of these creatures as a tourist attraction in the Game Parks. As long as the demand exists for ivory and hippo teeth for the manufacture of ornaments and chessmen, and rhino
horn to be turned into aphrodisiacs in Southeast Asia, the poachers will attempt to carry out their predatory attacks. Their subsistence needs can be satisfied by the smaller game, fish from the rivers, and such wild fruits as they may gather in season from the adjacent forests. The Boni speak the Cushitic language of their Galla neighbours, by whom they are despised as 'unclean', but in recent years small numbers of the Sanye tribe have begun to adopt animal husbandry as an alternative means of subsistence.

Further inland, occupying isolated pockets in the territory of the Masai and Nandi, small groups of Dorobo tribesmen also exist by hunting and gathering in the highland forests. Numbering less than fifteen hundred, they were the earliest inhabitants of these areas where they have linguistic connections with their Nandi neighbours with whom they coexist in a symbiotic relationship. Again, such small numbers of people - even if they should continue to carry on with their traditional subsistence activities - are unlikely to pose a serious threat to the national economy, or to make serious demands upon the government for reallocation of lands or resources.

Almost one million of Kenya's people wander over the open, and often arid spaces in search of grazing for their herds of cattle, sheep, goats and camels. Under difficult conditions they pursue their traditional way of life, deriving both subsistence and prestige from their animals.

About one-quarter of these nomadic herders are Somalis from the far northeast of the country who have extended their influence over
hundreds of square miles of the semi-desert area bordering Somalia and Kenya. In the more arid areas their herds are composed mainly of camels, although they also maintain considerable numbers of sheep and cattle. They are a proud people who refer to themselves as 'possessors of wealth' and this wealth is entirely accounted for by their animals which, in addition to bestowing prestige upon their owners, also guarantee subsistence in the form of milk and meat for food and skins for water bags and tents.

Many young Somalis in recent years have given up their nomadic mode of life and gained employment in the settled areas where they have become competent mechanics.

Next in numerical order amongst the herding peoples are the Turkana who maintain their animals over the whole of northwestern Kenya in the Rift Valley between the borders of Uganda and the western shores of Lake Rudolph. Within this area they restrict their activities to the considerable extent of their own tribal lands. In the traditional Turkana society, their heavily-ornamented women enjoy a high status. Turkana herds are composed of sheep, goats, camels and cattle, all of which contribute the staple food of milk. In spite of the diversity of their herds the Turkana regard themselves as 'cattle people' and accord to their cattle a very special place in tribal tradition. Turkana herders regard their cattle as earthly intermediaries between the soul of the individual and his ancestors. Songs of praise are sung and warrior dances held in honour of these animals which also represent prestige in the form of mobile wealth, the means of securing
suitable for the head of the family and his growing sons, sacrifices for ceremonial feasts, and security from hunger.

Numerically close to the Turkana are the 150,000 strong Masai, now confined to treaty-controlled grazing areas where once they roamed at will and asserted their rights with a well-organised standing army in which all able-bodied warriors were obliged to give military service. Masai youths still search out marauding lions to engage in single combat, armed only with spear and shield, in order to prove their manhood. Since Masai grazing areas are close to many of the National Game Parks and Reserves, such opportunities are not too rare. In recent years stock sales have become more common amongst the Masai in an effort to improve their cattle, but there is still a serious shortage of adequate grazing near to the few available watering places.

Subsistence for the Masai consists mainly of milk and blood from their animals, with occasional meals of meat. Blood is drawn from the living animal by shooting a hollow arrow into a main vein in the cow's neck, and then mixed with milk to form a more solid, curdled mass.

Next among the herders of Kenya are the Boran and Orma peoples who, as offshoots of the Galla from Ethiopia, have extended southwards as far as the Tana River in search of a permanent water supply for their cattle. The Boran obtain similar facilities to those of the Orma from the waters of the Uaso Nyiro further to the north and west. Although traditional wanderers, many Boran have settled near the small townships of Marsabit, Garba Tulla and Moyale. In common with all
herders, the Boran and Orma regard their animals primarily as a source of wealth and prestige—prestige being determined more by the numbers than the quality of the animals—but the Orma have recently emerged as enlightened cattle-breeders, and the Boran breed has been utilised to bestow its characteristic hardiness on other breeds of stock.

Similar to the Somali in their self-estimation, the Samburu refer to themselves as the 'world's top people'. At the height of their traditional development, the Samburu enjoyed a life of vanity and idleness which revolved around tribal ceremonies. Responding to government persuasion in colonial times, and with the advice of competent agricultural officers, the Samburu adopted new methods of animal husbandry which have placed them in the forefront of the nomadic cattle people of Kenya. It appears probable that an appeal to their natural vanity helped overcome their inherent idleness. Now their 350,000 hump-backed cattle produce good beef in semi-desert lands where there is little or no permanent water supply.

To complete this brief outline of Kenya's herding peoples, the Rendille occupy some of the least hospitable land in this country of great contrasts. Throughout the years, the Rendille have become completely adapted to a desert life amidst the lava rock and scrub to the east of Lake Rudolph in the Northern Province of Kenya. This land supports, on average, less than one person to the square mile, but supplies enough sparse grazing for the camels which are the mainstay of Rendille herds. From these animals the herders obtain milk, meat and transportation, as well as the means of providing 'bride-wealth'.

In addition, the Rendille also maintain cattle, sheep and goats, and range as far south as Marsabit where they come into contact with the neighbouring Samburu. Their main problems, however, come from the Boran and Gelubba of Ethiopia whose periodic raids necessitate protection by the security forces of Kenya.

Whilst much of the traditional grazing grounds of Kenya's nomadic herders is beyond the possibility of immediate improvement, facilities for their herds could be extended by the provision of piped or well water and control of the tsetse fly in some of the low-lying areas. Since some herders have already formed settlements, others might be encouraged to follow their example if permanent water could be made available for their stock. Improvement of the quality of their cattle would reduce the numbers required for subsistence, since the typical East African animal carries very little meat on its bones and produces less than one gallon of milk per day. Nevertheless it still represents one animal in a country where the number rather than the quality of herd is the measure of his prestige. Until the universal acceptance of improved stock some other standards would have to be provided for the evaluation of wealth and prestige, but this problem should not be beyond the talents of peoples who have developed their own values for exchange. As long as grazing areas—particularly those of the Masai—are so close to the boundaries of Game Parks and Reserves, more effective methods of control must be devised in order to avoid conflict between the economic demands of the tourist industry and cattle

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1 See p.166 for Pokot and Rabai tables of equivalence.
production. The wild animals will probably be more difficult to control than the domesticated herds of the cattle people since many of their habitual trails have been followed without restraint for many years.

Others among the tribes of Kenya have maintained herds of cattle as part of their subsistence economy. Some, because of the opportunities offered under the protection of the colonial government, have settled down in their own areas and developed small farms to supplement their subsistence with traditional African crops. In this group are the Giriama of the coastal strip who now cultivate cotton, cashewnuts, tropical fruits as cash crops and cassava, rice, millet, sorghum, and eleusine for their own use. It is possible that continual losses of their cattle to the raiding Masai encouraged the development of agricultural skills. The Giriama were also previously skilled in the manufacture of poisons which they traded to the hunting tribes.

Another coastal tribe, the Duruma, maintain large herds of cattle from which they supply milk to the city of Mombasa. Since the average African cow produces less than one gallon of milk per day, the herds of the Duruma cannot be considered as 'dairy' cows by normal standards.

The Kamba, who have progressed through the stages of development from hunting, through animal husbandry to agriculture, were in their earlier days amongst the most skillful of hunters with their long bows and poisoned arrows. As warriors of the past, they find a modern outlet for their skills and enthusiasm in the uniformed services of Kenya. Sixty per cent of army recruits are members of the Kamba tribe, and
many have seen active service with the colonial forces in both World Wars and against the Mau Mau during the Emergency. Machakos, in Kamba territory, was an important staging post for caravans from the coast to the interior and the Kamba acted as trading intermediaries between the coastal and inland traders. Although the Kamba—probably because of their other talents—were slow to adopt modern farming techniques, many of them have now become progressive agriculturalists. With the encouragement of early missionaries many Kamba became skilled woodcarvers and the results of their work are in great demand by tourists. At roadside stands and outside most of the hotels of Mombasa and Nairobi these craftsmen finish and polish examples of their work. Their carving is, however, largely restricted to reproduction of standardised animal forms and masks. They show little feeling for the grain of the woods from which they carve, or finish, the rough-cut models. Few show any real artistic talent in this medium and are unable to transfer their skills to work in another medium or to different sizes. When the Tanganyika Meerschaum Company opened its first factory in Nairobi for the production of pipes, some Kamba carvers were employed to produce carved bowls similar to the original Turkish styles. This early experiment had to be abandoned because of the inability of the carvers to reproduce their skills in an unusual medium. Another Kamba carver, commissioned to produce a trophy for Nyeri Golf Club, had used more than one-third of the available block of wood in carving the head of a rhinoceros. Into the remaining two-thirds the whole body of the animal had, somehow, to be accommodated.
Further inland, beyond the Rift Valley, the Nandi divide their attentions between their stock, which represent a large part of their wealth, and the cultivation of adequately-watered plateau on which they live at between 5,000 and 7,000 feet. Nandi women are skilled in decorative beadwork.

Most southerly of the group of tribes which have become associated under the general name of Kalenjin are the Kipsigis, who occupy fertile lands around Kericho close to the northeastern shores of Lake Victoria. In earlier days the Kipsigis had been in fierce competition with the Masai for grazing lands until the arrival of the colonial government put an end to inter-tribal warfare. This led to a change in the traditional way of life of the Kipsigis who then settled down and with help from government officers made rapid progress in agriculture. Their present home area is a model of African development in farming techniques. Their good grade cattle graze in well-fenced paddocks, and they also produce cash-crops of wattle bark, tea and pyrethrum. Kericho has long been the centre of the tea-producing and processing industry in Kenya. Many Kipsigis retain and employ their traditional skills in the Army and Police Forces, and as Game Scouts and Rangers.

Two other tribes, the Tugen and Pokot also carry on both animal husbandry and agriculture. In the case of these two tribes, however, both are separated geographically into 'cattle people' or farmers. Neither combine both economic modes of existence.

The Tugen (the name means 'hill-dweller') are an offshoot of
the Masai and occupy the Baringo District north of Nakuru.

In the northern part of this area, the Tugen are agriculturalists and practise extensive irrigation of their land. Tugen of the south are largely stock-owners.

The Pokot, who are culturally similar to the Turkana and ethnically related to the Nandi and Karamojong, are divided into separate sections as the 'people of the plains' and the 'people of the hills'. They are, respectively, "Pipo pagh" --the 'corn people'--and "Pipo kiak" --the 'cattle people'. The hill area occupies one-third of Pokot district and on these hills the corn people carry on small-scale farming and keep a few cattle, goats and sheep. On the plains, the cattle people herd large numbers of cattle but do no cultivating.

In order to establish mutually-beneficial trade between the two sectors, some tables of exchange values were established around the standard unit of one male goat. To compensate for variations in animal size, the value of the goat ranged from three to four tins of grain amounting to approximately fifteen to twenty gallons in total capacity. A female goat on the same scale varied from twenty-five to thirty gallons of grain. The goat itself was divisible in that the back was considered equivalent to one hindleg or two forelegs, and whole animals were exchanged as follows:

1 big ox = 1 heifer
1 heifer = 8 female + 1 male sheep or goats
1 medium ox = 5 female + 1 male sheep or goats
1 small ox = 3 or 4 female + 1 male sheep or goats

Difference in the mode of living was also reflected in the range
of numerals. The herders' system ran to 1,000 whereas the farmers found little or no need for numbers beyond 100. Measurement of area was also related to the basic unit of a goat in that the standard unit of area was that piece of land which could be utilised to produce enough grain to purchase one female goat. Two spears or a quiver with twenty arrows were also equivalent to one she-goat.

The Rabai of the Coastal Bantu have a similar table of values which extends to include the customary bride-price:
12 hens = 1 goat; 12 goats = 1 cow; 12 cows = 1 girl.

The number systems of the majority of tribes reflect their way of life, and many have adopted the Swahili range of numbers when modern requirements have exhausted their own range.

As might be expected in a subsistence economic structure, the more fertile land areas can support greater population density, and consequently many of the exclusively agricultural tribes account for the greater part of the total population.

Most numerous among these peoples are the Kikuyu and their allied tribes of the Meru, Chuka and Embu which total over two million and almost completely encircle Mount Kenya. Many streams flowing from the glaciers of the main peaks provide an adequate source of irrigation where it may be required; but, particularly in Kikuyu areas, adequate crops can be grown twice per year with normal seasonal rainfall. Coffee, pyrethrum, sisal and tea have been established as cash crops for many years, but before Independence these profitable crops were restricted almost exclusively to European estates. Much of the progress
in the production and sale of these crops has been due to the activities of local Cooperative Societies through which traditional ideas of co-operation have been extended from the kinship communal labour to the economic field. Some of the world's best coffee is now being produced on the farms of the Meru people.

Although predominantly cultivators, many people in this group still maintain small herds of livestock for milk and also for use as bride-wealth. In agricultural areas, the animals in marriage transactions may be supplemented with beer brewed from grains or honey. Apart from the heavy work of clearing new land for cultivation, the remainder of the work up to and including harvesting is the responsibility of the womenfolk, whilst the men still tend the small herds upon which their personal prestige still depends.

The next largest group of primarily agricultural tribes is the Luhya group which includes the following peoples:— Kisii, Maragoli, Bukusu, Isukha, Idakho, Kabras, Bunyala, Marama, Wanga, Kisa, Bukhayo, Marach, Butsotso, Tiriki, Nyangore and Iteso.¹ In earlier times these tribes lived in fortified villages to gain greater protection from the raiding Luo and Nandi. Since then, however, political divisions have become less significant, and inter-marriage between the associated tribes has become more commonplace. Now, these tribes occupy some of the most fertile land in Kenya in the areas of North Nyanza and Elgon Nyanza. In the southern sector, near Kisumu on Lake Victoria, the increase in population density has led to a serious shortage of

¹ Throughout this paper westernised forms of tribal names have been employed. A comprehensive list of tribal names and alternative forms is to be found in *Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History.* (George Peter Murdock)
farm land. In this fertile area, no great agricultural skill is required to produce two crops a year with marketable surpluses of maize, millet, sorghum and beans. The recent introduction of coffee into the area has opened up a new source of potential wealth and there has been remarkable progress in production, particularly in the northern sector. Possibly because of the increase in local wealth, there has been a great increase in the desire for education among the Luhya, and eighty percent of the children of school age have been able to afford some schooling. Even more remarkable is the fact that there are almost equal numbers of boys and girls attending primary schools. This is in contrast to the national average, before Independence, of about half as many girls as boys in schools. As a result of this desire for European-type education, tribal conditions have changed rapidly, but attempts are now being made to revive traditional dances, ceremonies, and crafts which had been neglected in the pursuit of education. High local taxes have been levied in support of educational facilities, and medical and social resources have also been improved. Luhya locational councils have readily accepted the responsibility for handling the large sums of money involved in these improvement projects.

In South Nyanza over 250,000 Kisii people farm the fertile hill country and derive a good income by practising modern methods of agriculture. Coffee has become the main economic crop, but local co-operative societies also produce and market crops of pyrethrum, tea and maize. In addition the Kisii still practise their traditional crafts of wood-carving and pottery.
Living on the steep western slopes of the Rift Valley, the Elgeyo tribe farm the fertile patches of land on the escarpment. Here they produce crops of wheat, pyrethrum and vegetables in an area which is one of the remaining haunts of the Bongo and Mountain Lion. Throughout the years this Kalenjin-speaking group has developed a high degree of skill in methods of irrigation.

Another tribe which employs irrigation on a traditional basis is the Taita, of Bantu origin, living in the hills around Voi, about one hundred miles inland from Mombasa. In this fertile area, surrounded by dry bushland, some fifty thousand people occupy five hundred square miles and carry on a progressive form of agriculture whilst utilising their ancestral skills in preparing banana stems to be used as 'pipes' for irrigation.

Of the remaining agriculturalists of Kenya, two groups combine farming with fishing, and pursue their activities separated by the whole breadth of the country.

Over one million Luo, traditional swamp-dwellers, live near Lake Victoria and from its waters they take their staple food. Family structure is of particular importance to the Luo, and from an early age children are taught to co-operate with others. This close association with people enables the Luo to adapt readily to an urban environment and migration to nearby towns has become part of the normal development pattern of Luo society. As long as employment opportunities have existed it has been customary for young men of the tribe to spend some time away from their homeland. From their earnings they
are expected to pay taxes and to buy cattle for their fathers. Many have obtained employment on the railway and in the ports, and spend the first years of their married life in the towns before returning to their home reserves. This relieves pressure on the land, which is held under customary law on a family basis, and is, therefore still available when they return.

The second of the groups which combine farming with fishing is the Pokomo tribe. In sharp contrast with the density of population of the Luo lands, only about eighteen thousand Pokomo occupy nine thousand square miles of territory, but spend most of their time in the land along the banks of the Tana River. Twice a year the river provides flood waters to irrigate their crops of rice, cassava and maize. The Pokomo supplement this vegetable diet with fish from the river and occasionally with the meat of hippopotamus and crocodile.

Existing at the extreme limit of subsistence are the ElMolo of Lake Rudolph in the north of Kenya. They are a small tribe of fewer than one hundred people and slowly dwindling in numbers largely due to the alkaline dust from the lake. In spite of the difficulties of existing in this barren land of lava rock and intense heat, the ElMolo have refused opportunities to move further south, preferring to continue to fish with their harpoonlike spears in the waters of the lake which at least provides an adequate supply of food.

This brief outline of traditional economies and some more recent adaptations to changing circumstances gives some idea of the problems facing the present government. In recognising that in recent years
many tribes have made substantial progress in economic terms and have also adopted more modern methods of animal husbandry and agriculture in contrast to their customary practices, it must not be assumed that continued development is possible on the same lines. Such progress as has been made has been made against the stable background of traditional society. Changes have been made slowly under colonial government which has not sought to enforce progress. Tribes have continued to occupy those areas with which they have become most familiar and to which environment they have adapted. If further progress is to be made in the interests of national development, then it should be made with due regard to the past and to the intrinsic stability of individual groups.

Colin Turnbull points out the dangers to tribal society of enforcing change of environment in his study of the Ik people who now live in the northwestern corner where Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan meet. He points to the complete disintegration of the most basic human values amongst a formerly primitive hunting and gathering tribe whose hunting activities ran contrary to the aims of the government of Uganda and who were relocated in an area where it was hoped that they could develop agricultural skills.

In the following chapter the traditional adaptation of the Kikuyu to their environment will be examined in some detail and possible lines of development will be suggested through which tribal values and skills may be constructively employed.

3 The Mountain People.
Structure of the Environment

The total environment may first be divided into two component parts, the natural and the social.

The natural environment is that combination of geographical, climatic, animal and vegetational features which together define the area in which the Kikuyu have taken up residence.

Geographical: The map facing page 13 shows clearly the main geographical features of the Kikuyu land area. Of particular importance at this point are the ridges which impose physical separation upon sections of the tribe, and the forest which impinges on their farmland. Both features involve physical separation; one between members of the same tribe, and the other between members of different tribes. In the latter case the forest edges provided a natural refuge which could be utilised for security from raiding parties of Masai. In the structure of society these are both restraining features which must be compensated by devising links between the peoples thus separated. In order to re-connect sections of the Kikuyu tribe, unifying factors must be found, and amongst these factors may be listed a common religion, the age-set system of initiation, language and myths of origin. Inter-marriage between members of the same tribe but different families provides a linking set of relationships, but these are also subject to artificial restraints in the form of avoidance relationships. Since the bond
between mother and daughter is normally quite strong, competition between husband and mother for the affection of the daughter must be avoided in order to avoid strife between two sections of the community. Either complete avoidance of meetings between the two must be built into traditional relationships, or all conversation between them must be placed on a 'joking' level so that no serious conversation may take place between them. The cattle exchanged as bride-price provide a temporary link since they may be returned in the event of the marriage proving successful, but also they provide the means by which the father may secure a wife or daughter-in-law to replace the working daughter who has been lost to the immediate family. Those same cattle may thus be utilised to establish another linkage across the geographical division.

Whilst the forest may be utilised in times of danger as a refuge, trade must not be interrupted because of some temporary disagreement between the conflicting tribes. Raiding in itself provides a link between the tribes concerned since part of the purpose of such attacks is to provide an opportunity for warriors to establish themselves and prove their manhood. Cattle are taken from neighbouring tribes to replace those lost through drought, disease or other raids, so raids are an integral part of the process of survival. Thus, in order to ensure continuous contact between tribes, certain trade routes are recognised as being beyond the limits of temporary warfare and the actual exchange of goods carried out by women who are not directly concerned with the actual fighting.
Through the fertility of the land the tribe obtains its subsistence and because there are occasions when there is too much work involved for the owning family, cooperation must be sought from neighbours. Thus another link is formed to counter the physical separation necessitated by family-owned plots of land. There is no way in which a man can dispose of land which is in the care of his family, but finally part of the whole holding of his tribe. Others may be allowed temporary use of it and its produce, but the land itself cannot be transferred.

From the forest itself the Kikuyu obtains the poles for building his house, shafts for his spears and hoes, logs to hollow out as hives for honey bees, leaves for medicinal purposes, leaves to use as abrasives, and skins and feathers for ceremonial decorations.

**Animal:** Of the animals which are part of traditional environment, by far the most important are the sheep, goats and cattle. In addition to their contribution to subsistence in the form of milk and occasional meat, the smaller livestock are a form of currency for the payment of professional services of the sorcerer or witchdoctor, and also the means of propitiating the gods in ceremonial sacrifice. Cattle bring a man prestige and also serve as a reminder of the daughters who are now serving to strengthen the tribe with other families. Naturally, by bestowing prestige upon their owner, they must also serve to separate him from others less fortunate.

Predators also serve some constructive purpose within the tribe. They provide the opportunity for the herder to demonstrate his strength, skill and courage in defense of his stock and furnish him with proof in the form of trophies--teeth, claws, and skins--which he may use for
personal adornment. Adversely, they are a perpetual danger to both stock and humans and necessitate some cooperation in the construction of thorn 'bomas' as protection for the domestic animals. Further cooperation may be required to hunt down recognised predators for the mutual benefit of the whole community.

Scavengers serve a useful function in the disposal of waste products, either the remains of human or animal kills. They have also been utilised as a means of disposal of the dead and dying.

Climatic: Fortunately, perhaps, for the Kikuyu, climatic conditions are fairly predictable and moderate. There are normally two periods of rainfall of approximately equal totals of fourteen inches between March and May and a similar amount between October and December. The remainder of the annual total of thirty-six inches is almost equally distributed over the other six months of the year. Temperatures range from a mean minimum of about 12°C degrees to a mean maximum of 24°C degrees. Also, because of its situation close to the equator, the Kikuyu homeland is subject to only slight variations in the times of sunrise and sunset of about twenty minutes over the year. With this consistency of daylight, it is not surprising that the sun acts as their clock. The hours are counted from sunrise to sunset, beginning at the Greenwich time of six a.m. The length of shadows of familiar local landmarks provides a ready measure of the passage of the day enabling all workers to return from the fields, grazing areas or markets before the onset of darkness and the attendant dangers of evening predators. Irregularities lead to considerable discomfort and occasional
disaster such as the combination of drought, disease and locusts towards the end of the nineteenth century which decimated the tribe and its livestock. Floods can be equally devastating in areas which have not been terraced or planted with soil-conserving roots. At such times the local rivers are red with the soil from many Kikuyu farms, as is the Indian Ocean for several miles off shore.

It is in these areas of climatic balance that most can be done to improve and consolidate the productivity of Kikuyu lands.

Social Structure of the Environment

The social structure of the Kikuyu tribe has been largely determined by the geographical structure of their land. The steep ridges are separated by rapidly-flowing streams which enforce a system of communicating tracks running along the ridges or steeply-graded paths to the junction of two ridges. The nuclear family is customarily accommodated in two or three huts and the extended family in a homestead unit of as many huts as there are wives and husbands related to the family head. Again there is physical separation, countered by traditional links of religion, labour, ancestors, and the fire unit. Within the family itself, the strong authority of the father may be considered as a separating factor since it virtually isolates him from close association with his children and serves to ensure that no single child can assume a position of favouritism. Children of the same father thus become more closely associated with their mothers and their grandparents, forming separate 'families' even within the same group of huts. Nevertheless, the same paternal authority
establishes the father as a figure to be respected, and this respect is transferred to all senior members of the tribe.

**Other Tribes:** Geographical boundaries easily recognisable by both sides separate the Kikuyu from their neighbours. To the east and north these boundaries are between Kikuyu and the allied tribes of Meru and Embu. To the west, south and northwest, their neighbours were the nomadic Masai. Such competition as existed between tribes never involved land exchange but only the enforced transfer of livestock occasioned by superior force or greater guile. These separating factors of force, guile, and distance, also necessitated trading links so that resources which were available in one area might still be made available to others who needed them and could offer suitable goods or services in exchange.

**Summary:** Since all societies in Kenya have, through the many years of adaptation to their particular environment reached some form of equilibrium, it must be recognised that disturbance of the equilibrium must result from any change in environmental conditions. At all times the balance must be maintained between the economic, political, social and religious components of the structure of society and that can only be achieved if developments are carefully planned with due regard to the stresses inherent in a stable society.

Each of the tribes of Kenya has its own characteristic strengths which may be adapted to the national good. Gradual change may be effected through the improvement of economic conditions, through the provision of opportunity for change and without undue coercion,
Fortunately for those who may be charged with the responsibility for bringing about the economic and social development of Kenya, there is adequate evidence available throughout the world in societies at all stages of development to suggest guidelines. Many exist within the country itself during its comparatively brief history of colonialism and independence. Many exist in other parts of Africa providing clear indications of pitfalls to be avoided.

Kenya has the advantage of having at its head a man wise in the ways of his own people, old in years in a country which respects the wisdom of its elders, educated in the modern institutions of the western world, and particularly from the point of view of this study, a student of one of the foremost anthropologists. In his own title of 'Mzee' and the national motto of 'Harambee' there is an acceptance of much that is good in local tradition—respect for the 'elders' of the tribe and the common spirit of 'cooperation'.

Suggestions for Development based on Kikuyu Society

Respect for the elders of all tribes, and indeed the success of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta in establishing a stable government in Kenya, would suggest that government of the country—at least until substantial changes have been achieved—should remain in the hands of its senior statesmen. Thus traditional authority may be maintained in a form recognisable to the indigenous peoples and also to the outside world. In establishing a one-party state, the foundation of most tribal councils has been incorporated into the constitution, and several members of the government have already served their people
as warriors, parents of sons grown to manhood in tribal tradition, and as members of the senior councils of their tribes.

There is a recognised need for technical training to equip those presently unqualified for the tasks of development. New methods of animal husbandry, agriculture, and fishing must be devised to guarantee the subsistence of the majority of the people, and also to release for other duties those who are capable of handling completely new skills. Some redirection of activity has already been undertaken and will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Perhaps the greatest need is for some control of the environment to stabilise food production throughout periods of drought and flood. Dams must be built and water piped to areas of irregular or insufficient rainfall. Excessive rainfall in some years must be stored against the shortage of other years. Possibly this form of storage can be combined with the production of power supplies to provide energy for further development—electricity for factories processing food, for milking machines, for rural homes, for transportation. These and many more possibilities for development will necessitate facilities for training engineers and technicians. New forms of mechanisation will have to be devised to simplify the cultivation and harvesting of crops on the steeply-sloping, terraced shambas on which many profitable cash crops are grown at present with primitive equipment and hand labour.

Cooperative Societies have already proven their worth in extending to the small-scale farmer many of the advantages of the large estate producer, and with this expansion of a cash economy a man's
prestige may still be assessed by his neighbours, but now in terms of
cash returns from the crops of a well-cultivated farm. This should
also result in increased demands for those consumer goods which had
already begun to replace cattle as the new status symbols—bicycles
and cars, radios, perhaps even television sets and refrigerators,
good homes and mechanical aids on the farm. The availability of re-
frigeration may be utilised to extend the range of foodstuffs available
with an increase in the general standard of health.

There are also considerations due to the cultural aspect of a
new Kenya society.

The national flag and national anthem have already provided a
focus for the growth of nationalism, but such symbols must be supported
with cultural attributes that are peculiarly Kenyan. Many traditional
dances have been retained as tourist attractions and some of the more
skillful groups have performed for audiences outside their native land.
Yet many of the young people of Kenya have become so involved with the
process of modern education that they are more familiar with the music
and dances of the western world than those of their own people. It
is at this point that many of the older people may make their own very
significant contribution to the traditions of the new nation. There
are many stories of the origins of the tribes, of their heroes and wise
men, to be collected and recorded before they fade from living memory.
There are many songs and dances also to be recorded, musical instruments
to be reconstructed, costumes and decorations to be preserved, as a
record of the cultural past of Kenya and a vital contribution to the
heritage of mankind. It is to be hoped that in the race for technical and economic development that these important aspects of national life will not be overlooked.

Perhaps a study of the traditional religions may reveal the basis of a truly Kenyan belief more suited to their national philosophy than those of the western world, but, again, perhaps there are already enough religions available to meet most requirements. The point to be emphasised is that Kenya is a new nation in search of a national image. It is a nation which acknowledges its limited outlets for formal academic education introduced during the colonial period, but which acknowledges that with the re-direction of much of its traditional labour force into new fields of activity it has the opportunity for experiment. Since there has been considerable criticism of western standards and values, and with some justification, it would appear reasonable that in the comparatively early years of developing African ideas there should be some attempt at opening up new fields of enquiry.
CHAPTER 10

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Self-help

In a letter to the Chairman of the Kandara Water Scheme, the Minister for Finance and Planning in the Kenya Government states:

"Self-help projects by local communities have become an important feature of present day Kenya, helping to fill the development gap in those areas where the Government's limited resources of public funds are not available. The Kandara Water Scheme is one of the most ambitious self-help projects ...."¹

The appeal pamphlet itself points out:

"The Kandara people are prepared to make any sacrifice, financial or otherwise, to have piped water supply nearer to their homes. At present the women travel several miles, many times a day, through hilly country, to fetch water on their backs and heads. The water fetched is often dirty and constitutes a health hazard."²

The total cost of this ambitious scheme is expected to amount to 10,000,000 Kenya shillings (about $1,250,000) and of this total the local population offers to provide one-tenth in cash and another tenth in labour, materials and transportation. The population of the area to be served by the scheme is about 125,000 whose farms average under five acres and support about five persons each. Figures are not given for the cash returns from these farms, but sugarcane farmers associated with another project anticipate an income of about $300 a year from similar acreage. The voluntary levy by the people of Kandara

may, therefore, amount to about fifteen percent of the family income from the farm, and if this does not seem excessive for the anticipated benefits it must be remembered that these contributions are in addition to all local and national taxes. They are also in addition to contributions which have resulted in the building of the following facilities in 1970:

124 Nursery Schools, 68 Primary Schools, 14 Secondary Schools, 4 Village Technical Schools, 1 Social Hall, 8 Health Clinics, 20 Churches, and 29 Cattle Dips.3

These, and other projects unspecified in the pamphlet, entailed contributions from the same people amounting to their present proposed commitment to the water scheme.

In developing this project, the people of Kandara intend to tap the resources of a waterfall on the Thika River at an altitude of 7,300 feet in the Aberdare Mountains. The fall itself is thirty feet high flowing into a pool only sixty feet in diameter, but capable of supplying over a million and a half gallons of water per day. This valuable source can be tapped through the construction of a six feet high weir stretching for sixty feet across the outlet from the pool from which the water would be fed by gravity through nearly 270 miles of piping ranging from twelve to one-and-a-half inches in diameter.

To people of the western world where good water piped directly to the home is an accepted feature of daily living, perhaps the advantages to the people of Kandara can barely be visualised. Whilst it is obviously desirable to have good, clean water readily available for both humans and animals, the main advantage of this scheme lies
in its effect on the social life of the people. The saving in woman- (and girl-) hours involved in the daily collection and transporting of water by the laborious traditional method of carrying a large gourd or drum (in later years) suspended from a carrying strap across the forehead will be considerable. The saving in terms of general well-being and release from a task which reduces a human to the labour status of a beast of burden cannot be calculated. There can be little doubt that, even at the considerable financial cost to the people, this project is justified. To people with a long tradition of cooperation there is the satisfaction of employing the values of the past to the solution of the problems of the present. There is also the satisfaction of establishing a certain measure of independence for the group concerned in contributing to the independence of the nation as a whole, and releasing to those less fortunate than themselves some some of the government's limited resources.

Nevertheless, there remains the problem of the saving in working hours to be adapted to the advantage of society. Since the new water system should lead to increased productivity of gardens and livestock the resultant income will be available to pay school fees for those girls who are at present employed in carrying water or in looking after younger siblings while their mothers carry water. The mothers will also have more time available for domestic tasks and other activities. Some of the time could be absorbed into adult education or literacy courses or some form of home economics training. There must be some constructive outlet if the balance of society is to be maintained.
Possibly the services of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake clubs may satisfy some of these requirements.

This organisation is another form of self-help and one which originated in the later years of the Emergency when regulations were imposed to control movement during curfew hours, and acted as a counterbalance to these restrictions. Through voluntary services of both African and European women, with the assistance of paid members of the Community Development organisation, instruction was made available to the women and girls of the locations in nutrition, cookery and other aspects of home economics. In its early years, this form of instruction was opposed by the menfolk, but gradually it gained acceptance and now there are centres in all locations. Courses in adult education, child care, handicrafts, and art have been added and there is a ready market available for the products of the crafts classes. Under the leadership of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake nursery schools have been provided and trade schools opened for girls with some education who have been unable to find employment. From its other activities the Child Welfare Society and also the Society for the Aged have come into existence, and to this extent it may be considered that some of the traditional social welfare of the tribe is still being carried out by local organisations. Local government finances provide support for the Child Welfare system, but the Maendeleo organisation is handicapped in furthering its own activities by lack of funds. It is, therefore, possible that education for women and girls has not yet overcome the resistance that was shown in earlier days.

1 Progress of Women (Swahili)
Through the educational activities of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake and the release of women from the burdensome task of carrying water, there may also arise a demand for improved accommodation in these rural areas to offset the urge to migrate to urban areas where these facilities already exist. Such a demand would necessitate the employment of carpenters and joiners, bricklayers, stonemasons, plumbers and painters whose services were not required in building traditional houses.

The ready availability of water for home gardens could lead to an increase in the output of horticultural crops which the government is trying to encourage.

Because of a decrease in the market prices of some of the staple export crops of sisal, coffee, tea, pyrethrum, and wattle extract, many farmers are being encouraged to diversify their planting programmes. The wide range of climatic conditions in Kenya facilitates the growing of many crops for which heated glasshouses are required in other areas. Since it is also possible, because of climatic conditions, to produce two crops per year, a steady supply of exotic fruits and vegetables is available to the European markets. Improvement of Nairobi airport to enable the largest aircraft flying today to land and take off brings within a few flying hours the major outlets for the tropical produce of Kenya’s gardens. Rome, Paris, London, Stockholm, Munich and Frankfurt are already the main centres for tourist travel between Europe and Kenya, so the facilities exist for expansion of commercial freight and at present the demand exceeds the supply of avocado pears, mangoes,
melons, pineapples, passion fruit, papayas and bananas. Between 1968 and 1970 exports of these crops doubled and were expected to double again in the next two years. In addition such vegetables as French beans, sweet peppers, asparagus, artichokes, egg-plant, and sweet corn were also available. A wide range of flowers could be grown in the gardens of Kenya to develop a completely new marketable crop. Although many attractive flowers grow wild in the country, few, if any, were actually cultivated outside the home gardens of settlers and the small decorative surrounds of many small local schools.

The government has already instituted strict standards of inspection and grading of horticultural produce in order to maintain its reputation for high-quality produce which is so important in this field. The most convenient means of production and control of these more delicate crops lies in the establishment of a nucleus market-garden surrounded by smaller holdings. From the central nucleus regular supplies can be guaranteed whilst methods of production and harvesting can be demonstrated. Supplies from the nucleus can be augmented as the small-holdings develop, and the total production may be inspected, graded and packed by the central organisation. The small-holder may thus concentrate on the growing of his crops and leave all other aspects of marketing to government-appointed specialists. Cool-storage facilities have been set up at Nairobi airport so that produce may be available for shipment to the chain-stores and supermarkets of Europe. In addition to the fresh whole fruits and vegetables much of Kenya's produce is already being canned in the form of processed
foods and fruit and vegetable juices.

Another industry which has been established on the principle of a central nucleus surrounded by satellite small-holdings is the production of sugar from cane in the Mumias area. In February 1971 work began on a factory which is expected to produce its first output of processed sugar in July of 1973. By that time it should be processing about eighty tons of cane per hour and working towards an anticipated maximum capacity of 125 tons per hour. Cane for the factory will be grown on the nucleus estate of 8,000 acres, supported by 18,500 acres of small-scale farms. Besides providing an annual cash income averaging £136 to each of the 6,000 participating farmers who are at present existing on subsistence agriculture, this project will effect a saving of £1.4 million annually in foreign exchange on 20,000 tons of imported sugar. Mumias, about thirty-five miles northeast of Kisumu, is in a densely-populated area offering little in the way of alternative employment at present, but with the development of the sugar project it will require additional facilities. New roads will be needed to transport the finished product to the railhead at Kisumu, improved medical facilities will be required to maintain the health of the workers in the new industry, more schools will be needed for their children, and more police to safeguard their property and homes. Climatic conditions in the area are such as to produce twice-yearly crops of cane with a high juice content.

Among the smaller industries which have been developed since Independence are two which were previously supplied exclusively by the
settler farmers and existed mainly to satisfy their requirements in bacon and milk. Pigs were first introduced into the country as early as 1908, but it was not until fifty years later that there was either the production or the demand for a processing factory. Now that the business is completely managed and operated by Kenyans there is mutual consultation between workers and management in order to avoid similar labour problems which led to the factory being closed down. Local conditions are suitable for the production of high quality pigs at low cost in that high protein foods are readily available. The bacon factory at Uplands now produces 71 varieties of processed pork which it supplies to its own retail outlets and also exports mainly to underdeveloped nations in Africa.

The dairy industry was also begun by settlers in 1930 and is now under African management. With an increase in milk sales to over seventeen million gallons in the period 1966-67 total sales reached a value of £6,322,510, enabling the Kenya Cooperative Creameries to pay more than £5,000,000 to its contributing farmers. Creamery products include whole, evaporated, and powdered milk, butter and ghee.

Tourism is another industry which has shown remarkable development over the years since the country became independent. Because of its equable climate and wide variety of facilities, Kenya is ideally suited to the provision of holiday facilities and has well-established sea and air links with the major cities of Europe. Its wide range of wildlife, animals, birds and insects provides great opportunities for hunters, photographers, collectors and students of nature to pur-
sue their interests in varying conditions of personal comfort. Facilities are available for camping in the bush, utilising the many game lodges in National Parks and Reserves, first-class hotels in Nairobi and Mombasa within easy reach of game reserves, conducted tours, or the highly-priced, well-equipped safaris run and escorted by professional hunters and guides. Mount Kenya provides climbing for experienced mountaineers, and its rivers are stocked with trout for the angler. At the coast there are miles of white sandy beaches with safe swimming and goggling in the warm waters inside the reef, and outside the reef some of the finest game fish in the world are available for the enthusiastic deep-sea fisherman. Malindi offers opportunities for surfing and on the way from Mombasa there are the ruins at Gedi. With such resources, it is not surprising that Tourism is one of the major industries of Kenya and its stable political climate under the leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta has been an essential ingredient of its growth in this area. In 1963, 61,352 tourists brought £7,400,000 into the economy of Kenya; by 1970 the number of tourists had increased to 343,500 and the income from this source to £18,500,000. When Nairobi airport begins to accept the largest of jet aircraft on a regular basis by 1974, it is anticipated that more than 500,000 tourist will be bringing £37,000,000 into the country. By that time it is hoped that the tourist industry will be operating throughout the whole of the year and providing employment for more than the present 20,000 people engaged in the service industries. In order to improve the standard and efficiency of service in the hotels and lodges, the Kenya Hotel Association has recently
Polytechnic has opened a School of Hotel Training. An imaginative project associated with the tourist industry is the proposed Trans-African Highway stretching from Mombasa to Lagos. Whilst it is not envisaged primarily from this point of view, there can be little doubt of its attraction in opening up the whole of central Africa by means of four thousand miles of first-class highway with hotels at convenient intervals. This project was instigated under Japanese patronage at a conference at Addis Ababa and the cost will be supported by Britain over the Kenya section, Japan in Congo-Kinshasa, Germany in Cameroon and the United States in Nigeria.

In addition to these various developments of established industries, the government of Kenya has already begun to achieve its aims of providing alternative modes of existence for some of its nomadic peoples for whom life depends upon the vagaries of a fickle climate. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, some of the previously nomadic tribes have established themselves close to permanent sources of water and turned their attentions from cattle to cultivation, or to the improvement of their stock. Once such settlements have been established it is easier for the governments to extend the provision of the minimum of amenities to peoples whose way of life has previously prevented them from participating in the national progress. Enlisting the spirit of 'Harambee' which exists even in the furthest reaches of the country, and supporting local endeavours with government funds, it is intended to provide permanent water supplies in Marsabit District. Missionaries of the African Inland Mission have set up at Mount Kulal
a pump provided by the government to deliver water five miles away on the plains. Indiscriminate grazing on the mountain, enforced by adverse climatic conditions, was beginning to result in the destruction of the mountain's forests which the government views as a future tourist resort. The mountain is close to the shores of Lake Rudolph which offers good fishing for large Nile perch and the aggressive tiger fish. By means of self-help, fresh water has also been made available at North Horr. Other points where water is to be made available are shown on the map facing. Even in this arid area some families own up to one thousand head of cattle, and besides encouraging settlement, the water schemes will serve to reduce cattle-raiding which becomes necessary to replace stock in times of drought. Cattle are then stolen from neighbouring tribes who may have been more fortunate. Once settlements have been established it will be possible for the government to provide schools, health centres and also centres where instruction in agriculture may be given. Through its Ministry of Agriculture, the government has already provided the minimum of tools for cultivation and seeds of crops suitable for the area. By these means it is hoped to reduce the demand for food supplies in times of drought by making the people more self-sufficient. Cattle dips have been constructed by the people themselves to protect the health of their animals. In order further to reduce the possibility of enthusiastic herdsmen trying to augment their stock at the expense of their neighbours, it has now been made illegal to carry spears except in those areas which are known to support wild animals which may attack
the herds.

The second scheme to relieve hardship amongst the peoples of Kenya's dry northern territory involves the ElMolo who already depend on fishing for their subsistence and the Turkana who are primarily nomadic herders. When drought strikes the already arid areas around the shores of Lake Rudolph, cattle die and the livelihood of the herders is threatened. Through the Department of Fisheries, and with some support from the Oxfam and Freedom from Hunger voluntary organisations, facilities are being provided for the cattle people to take up fishing. Nets and canoes are provided to groups of tribesmen camped near the shores of the lake where famine relief supplies have been made available. Some instruction is given in the use of fishing gear, and as soon as the Turkana become proficient enough to fish on their own they are expected to leave the relief camp. Then they may continue to fish on their own or they may elect to join the Kalokal Fishermen's Co-operative Society, which at present deals in dried fish and exports Sh.200,000 per month to Uganda and the Congos. Because of its comparative inaccessibility, the potential of Lake Rudolph has never been fully explored, but a new Fisheries Research vessel manned by Kenyan and British scientists is conducting an ecological survey to determine the most economic means of developing the lake's resources. The government also intends to make the lake more accessible by building an all-weather road from Nairobi. By this route, refrigerated vans will be able to transport the fish to the capital in half a day. At present the most productive fish is the Nile Perch which reaches about two hundred pounds in weight,
and it is hoped that it will be acceptable to the markets of Europe. The research programme is expected to take about three years to complete, and by that time Kenya scientists should be capable of carrying out further studies on their own. Since the beginning of the project at Ferguson's Gulf, about two thousand families have settled there to assemble a community of some fourteen thousand people. As in the case of other new settlements, the government is now in a position to provide the requisite ancilliary facilities.

Thus, gradually, and without compulsion, the government of Kenya is providing opportunities for its people to develop those traditional forms of economy which can be adapted and intensified, to change to a different form of economic life more in keeping with the demands of national progress, and by means of self-help to retain some of that independence which has been the foundation of tribal life.

Indirectly, it is also supporting economic growth by the provision of Social Welfare services, and in so doing is taking over a traditional part of the social structure of tribal life. Care for the aged and under-privileged children has been the responsibility of those members of the extended family who were economically able to do so. In the years before independence, when the economic differentiation was not so pronounced, this could mean as little as sharing excess crops in time of need or paying school fees from money earned while other members of the family undertook the tasks of cultivating and harvesting the home gardens. As the economic gap widened between those who remained at home and those who migrated to urban areas in search of
more profitable employment, the customary sharing of good fortune became for many an impossible burden. Other members of the family would expect to be accommodated in the town while they, too searched for employment, as would tribal friends and acquaintances. There would be demands for tax-money and school fees from relatives from kin in the reserves who were unaware of the high cost of living in the towns. This resulted in an intolerable situation for the ambitious young man trying to bring up his own children in a new environment, reaching the point where promotion in his job meant additional responsibility and additional demands on his financial resources with little increase in the personal comfort of his own immediate family. Government acceptance of some of these burdens thus contributes directly to the national economy by providing the opportunity for its workers to progress, knowing that those less fortunate will still be cared for. This can only be a sacrifice of some traditional values, but Kenya is committed to improving the lot of all of its peoples and this is part of the price to be paid for a new national image.

Government policy on the provision of Social Welfare is outlined by the Minister for Co-operatives and Social Services as follows:

"(The government) acknowledged that without the personal involvement and social advancement of the individual members of the society, there could be no lasting progress, for the human resource was accepted by the new government as the foundation of Kenya's national development. Social welfare services were therefore to be more intensively organised at all levels of administration in order to enhance the well-being of all people,
and to bring about a real improvement in their morale and standard of living." ¹

Although the Social Welfare system intends to support the aged people of Kenya, it does not intend to sacrifice completely the value of the extended family as a form of social security. It has not introduced any form of pension which would relieve those who are able to support aged relatives from the customary responsibility for their welfare. It is, however, making financial provision for the aged and destitute who have no other source of support. Whilst this may be regarded primarily as an economy measure it has the advantage, as in other forms of self-help, that it preserves the right of individuals and groups to accept financial responsibilities for their own affairs. The government extends the same facility to local authorities which wish to organise services to meet the particular needs of their own communities. Thus, a considerable degree of autonomy is permitted within the system, and the government's main concern appears to be that no individual, group or community should suffer deprivation through lack of local initiative or finance.

The local government system itself had caused the government some concern in the confused political situation which existed until 1969. Under the Majimbo constitution—one of the main differences of policy between KADU and KANU² being the former party's insistence on separate constitutional assemblies for the Provinces—the Provincial

² Kenya African Democratic Union—primarily a coastal organisation later disbanded under the one-party system.
Kenya African National Union—the governing party.
Assembly system had proven to be cumbersome and unworkable, leading to greater separation between the wealthy and the less fortunate provinces. Each assembly became more concerned with its own affairs than with its potential contribution to the national welfare. Local councils had developed from the African District Councils of colonial times and their members were not always the most competent members of the community for adapting to the needs of modernisation. Financial compensation for time spent in local government was insufficient to encourage young and ambitious people to participate in the management of local affairs, and some authorities had become European-dominated and therefore contrary to the democratic principles of the new state. The new local authorities, councils of counties and municipalities, provide an important link between the central government in Nairobi and the outlying towns and districts, and it is part of government policy to upgrade to municipal status some of the smaller and developing towns so that they may have their own elected councils to participate in this form of administrative communication. Since the problems which arise in the social field can rarely be solved by any single agency, either local or national, responsibility for the operation of social welfare is shared between the Ministries of Co-operatives and Social Services, Home Affairs, Labour, Health and Local Government.

The government regards direct financial aid purely as a temporary measure and expresses more concern for directing its efforts to the underlying causes of social problems and to seek for solutions at the roots. Recognising that the economy of Kenya can provide an
adequate standard of living for a limited number of people, the Family Planning Service is an important part of the social welfare programme, and with improved health services and limitations on inter-tribal conflicts, natural methods of population control are no longer effective. Necessary

Since it is no longer/to have several children in order that enough would survive to service the family herds and lands, and since it costs money to clothe and educate children to a standard which is now available to the majority of Kenya's people, the advantages of family limitation become apparent. Through its social welfare programme, the government also recognises the possibility of mental disturbance in a period of rapid change and includes provisions for countering the adverse social effects of Mental Health. Facilities are provided for the care and rehabilitation of the disabled, for distribution of relief supplies in times of emergency, for day-care centres, adoptions and foster-care, and the feeding of pre-school children.

By means of this broad programme the government hopes to reduce the personal distress of its people, provide training so that they may become employable and independent, provide services which will ensure continued physical and mental health so that the independent individual may contribute to the welfare of the state.

In addition to the plans to encourage settlement of nomadic groups, to diversify the activities of others, and to provide direct assistance to the economically and physically deprived, there are also plans/develop other rural areas in order to equalise opportunities for development. In these widely spread areas from the coast to the lake
government funds have been provided for the improvement of existing roads, for building feeder roads, and the all-weather surfacing of main trunk roads. This general improvement will facilitate the movement of rural crops throughout the year, as well as improving access to the forests and game areas. It is hoped that this emphasis on rural development will retard the migration to urban areas and encourage the growth of the rural economy on which the government has based its future.
CHAPTER 11

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Overseas Aid

Since the date of Kenya's Independence two main factors have influenced its economic development. The first of these is the political stability of Mzee Kenyatta's regime, and the second is his announced policy of international non-alignment. In the early years of the new state, and especially with the departure of many of the Asian community, it was difficult to attract foreign investment to support the economy. Many foreign firms had accepted the idea of promoting Africans to positions of greater responsibility, or at least of nominal responsibility, but there was little expansion of business. Many foreign nations sent exploratory groups to investigate possibilities of investment, but appeared unwilling to proceed further unless there was some political commitment from the government. Meanwhile, Britain offered direct grants and loans, paid the salaries of expatriate government employees until their posts were 'localised' and generally insured against immediate financial failure. Through various voluntary international agencies many individuals offered their services in a variety of capacities to facilitate the transition from colony to independent Republic.

In recent years, foreign business firms have taken advantage of Kenya's political stability to establish factories and processing
plants. Some utilise local materials and labour, others import parts produced in the home nation and supervise the assembly by local semi-skilled labour, and still others import raw materials and train local employees in the manufacturing process. These forms of foreign aid provide employment for Africans, but at the same time gain considerable advantage from the lower wage scales and the availability of a local market for their produce. There is thus some gain to the Kenya economy, but also a financial return to the companies concerned.

Of more direct benefit to the development of Kenya, and with less direct tangible return to the countries concerned, are those forms of aid through money and services are provided and with no further claim on the government.

In this category are the many projects financed, or supported and supervised by the Nordic group of countries.

The Co-operative College of Kenya was established in 1967 and early in 1971 moved into new premises 12 miles from the centre of Nairobi. Eighty per cent of the financing of this project was provided by the countries of Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden, and the remaining 20 per cent by the government of Kenya. This is a national institution for the training of personnel involved in the Co-operative movement and recruits its students from the staff of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services as well as from the individual co-operatives throughout the country. At present it has an annual intake of 90-100 students and will ultimately accommodate almost twice as many. The primary aim of the college is to improve
the business efficiency of local co-operatives and thus lead to the economic and social development of the country as a whole. Courses include instruction at the college in administration, book-keeping and management, and a period in the field producing reports which are later checked and discussed by college staff. There are 14 instructors at the college, including 6 Nordic members who are all experts on the organisation and management of co-operative societies in their own countries and whose salaries are paid by their own governments. Fees for the residential course are sh.20 per day and are paid by the society sponsoring the student. Correspondence courses are also available at a cost of sh.10 for 5 lessons.

Another instructional institution is the Karen Domestic Science College which was built and operated for five years as the gift of the Danish government to the newly-independent nation. The college takes its name from the district in which it is situated, which in turn is named for the Danish writer, Karen Blixen, who lived and wrote in Kenya. Thirty courses have been held in this college up to 1971, through which 1200 women and girls have been given instruction in nutrition, cookery, home management, health and hygiene. Four hundred of these have been employed by the government in various capacities to pass on their knowledge of these important subjects. The Karen Domestic Science College is now being run entirely by the Kenya government, and the Danish experts maintain their interest by contributing to courses in nutrition and economics at Egerton Agricultural College at Njoro, through the FAO section of United Nations. Family health is also aided through
the provision of equipment and accommodation at the Mater Misericordia Hospital in Nairobi.

Danish contributions in financial aid and the secondment of experts is particularly relevant to the economy of the country in the agricultural field where a wide variety of projects is being carried out. These cover the full range from experimentation in crop varieties, through the care and feeding of animals, to the maintenance of farm equipment and the building of cattle dips. These are all practical measures designed to improve the quality of local agricultural produce through correct management, careful maintenance of machinery, and the scientific improvement of stock. The elimination of tick-borne diseases by means of cattle-dipping is only the first stage in ensuring healthy stock which can be utilised for the ultimate improvement of the breed. Water-development projects are financed where they are most needed, and then access roads are built under the supervision of Danish engineers and foremen so that the output of the farms may be transported to the markets.

In co-operation with nationals of Austria and Norway and also with financial aid, the Danish government has sponsored a school for journalists, with a Dane as acting Director of the course. Included in the three-year training programme is a three-week familiarisation visit to Denmark and Austria to study journalistic practice. Also given overseas, but concluded at the Kenya Institute of Administration in Nairobi, is a Diploma course in Rural Development which presents a co-ordinated approach to modernisation and improvement of rural life.
This course, at the highest level, is designed for senior field officers and policy-makers in government departments to encourage interaction between all economic, social, and governmental agencies contributing to the progress of the nation.

It is the aim of the Danish government through its programme of aid to help to develop those skills and incentives which will enable developing nations to prosper in the modern competitive world.

Sweden is also involved in similar projects of agricultural development and has contributed to schemes involving rural development, nutrition, water, artificial insemination, and the general improvement of livestock ranching and marketing. In other fields, Secretarial Colleges have been established at Nairobi and Mombasa, training 400 secretaries per year, and a Telecommunications and Meteorological Centre in Nairobi.

Norway has fielded a force of 90 experts and 70 volunteers in education, health, construction and agriculture. All are serving on contract terms for two years covering a wide field of specialist activities. There is a Large-scale Farming College at Thomson's Falls about 150 miles north-west of Nairobi and Small-scale Farming Centres in the Taita Hills and at Busia. These activities are supported by annual grants and the services of Norwegian experts. Research into fertilisers for cotton is also being carried out under Norwegian supervision. At Lake Rudolph, besides providing boats and nets, two Norwegian fishermen, a boat builder, and co-operative manager are engaged on a programme of experiment and expansion for the Fisheries
Department. Associated with this project is the building of a road to Lake Rudolph supported by a grant and the experience of ten engineers. Other projects of the Norwegian government include the School of Community Nursing at Thika, housing for Norwegian and Kenyan civil servants in Nairobi, and two Departments at the University of Nairobi. The Department of Electrical Engineering is headed by a Norwegian professor, with five Norwegian lecturers and five Africans. The Department of Animal Production also has a Norwegian professor as its head, supported by three lecturers and two technicians of the same nationality. Both these departments are supported by financial grants and scholarship funds.

A smaller and more localised project financed by overseas aid is that of the Industrial Estates Programme which began in 1966. At that time a preliminary survey was undertaken by three Indian experts—a civil engineer, a mechanical and production engineer, and an industrial economist—to identify products suited to manufacture on a small scale with limited outlay on capital equipment. Included in the details of their survey were consideration of suitable plant, machinery, personnel requirements, availability of raw materials, and overall costs. Altogether fifty feasibility studies were carried out in detail and have so far resulted in the location of factories for the manufacture of metal hinges, buttons, and metric weights in readiness for the forthcoming conversion to the metric system. Machinery has been donated by the government of India and facilities provided for the servicing and maintenance of the equipment. Lathes, milling machines, power
presses and grinders have been installed under the direct supervision of Indian experts. African-owned small-scale industries are now in production in the industrial area of Nairobi and there is a strong demand for additional factories.

The Kenyan Programme

Although the Medical Training Centre has been in existence for many years, the demands of independence and the need to be ultimately self-supporting in the medical field have resulted in great progress in the centre. Originally established near to what is now the Kenyatta National Hospital in Nairobi, the centre was intended to provide dressers for the war of 1914-1918. Its present emphasis lies in the training of para-medical staff which is recognised by Dr. M. R. Migue, Principal and Officer in charge of training as "... an integral part of society around us." In accepting School Certificate level entrants for training the center emphasises personal integrity and dedication to the medical service. Theoretical courses are offered at the centre in a wide variety of subjects relevant to the training of: Registered Nurses, radiographers, physiotherapists, pharmaceutical technicians, laboratory technologists, entomological field technologists, dental technicians, occupational therapists and Registered Clinical Officers. Practical experience in all these fields may be obtained at the adjoining National Hospital, and there are 2,455 students in training throughout the country, of whom 1,320 are enrolled in the Nairobi centre.

Primary Education In 1970 the government took over from county and municipal authorities the responsibility for administering the primary education...
municipal authorities the full responsibility for administering the primary school system. Prior to this time, school fees had been collected at provincial level and this had resulted in several problems concerning equality of treatment. There was often considerable delay in collecting fees, especially when parents were unwilling or unable to pay at the time of collection, and this resulted in further delay in excluding those students whose fees had not been paid. There were also examples of fees being collected for schools which no longer existed. Variations in the amount of fees collected, enrolments, and the local availability of teachers resulted in irregularities in staffing ratios. However, these difficulties did not disappear immediately responsibility was transferred to the central government. Fees were still to be collected at the local level, but through government rather than county-employed staff. In view of the shortage of qualified staff, the local authorities chose to retain their own employees, so qualified clerical staff was not available for other employment in outlying areas. In addition, the local authorities had employed personnel without due regard to their actual qualifications for government authorised salary scales, with the result that some under-qualified members of staff were unwilling to continue doing the same job at the official salary rate. Office space was also difficult to obtain since local authorities decided to retain for their own use the most suitable accommodation available. Not only did these problems cause difficulties in the collection of fees, but they also resulted in delay in the payment of teachers' salaries.
In spite of the administrative problems involved in the transfer of responsibility to the central authority, an 11.3 per cent increase in enrolment was recorded for the whole of the primary system in contrast to the previous average annual increase of 6 per cent. There was an overall increase of 17 per cent in enrolment in Standard I, although enrolments in less developed areas were below expectations.

Secondary Education Considerable progress was recorded in the secondary programme in 1970. Eighty-nine new secondary schools had been opened during the year, bringing the total to 783 of which 300 were government-aided and 483 were unaided, most of the latter being new Harambee schools. Total enrolment of secondary students in all schools had risen to 126,900 of which 20,093 were new admissions to Form I in government schools, with a similar number joining Harambee schools for the first time. There was also an increase in the number of students continuing their education beyond School Certificate level to Form V, this being largely due to the government's decision to waive fees for the final two years of secondary education. In all, K£ 195,850 was allocated as bursaries for secondary schooling, much of this being given to students entering the high-cost schools in Nairobi. However, such bursaries were not issued automatically and allocation of funds was made only on application and in cases of need. The total number of teachers employed in secondary schools was 5,881, of whom 2,200 were untrained.

Technical Education The stated aim of the Ministry of Education at this time was "... to diversify and revise syllabuses at all levels
of Post-Primary institutions to render them more meaningful and relevant to the needs of the country.\textsuperscript{1} Consequently courses in Industrial Arts, Business Studies, Home Science and Agriculture had been introduced into many secondary schools, and technical courses were being offered in a variety of subjects at all levels of post-primary education. Technical and Trade schools offered instruction in Tailoring, Carpentry, Masonry, Metalwork, and Plumbing but these were due to be phased out and replaced by Secondary Vocational courses. At the new level it would be possible to select candidates from the better qualified Kenya Preliminary Examination students and increase the status of the courses and also of the trades by this step.

Three-year courses in pre-craft training were being offered at seven Secondary Vocational Schools in Motor Vehicle Mechanics, Building, Electrical Engineering, Agricultural Mechanics, Fitting and Machining. At Kabete Secondary Vocational School and Mombasa Technical Institute four-year courses for pre-technicians were being given to prepare students for entry to recognised trade apprenticeships. Other four-year courses combining general education with a technical bias were given at the same institutions in preparation for the East African Certificate of Education. Workshops had been added to fifteen academic secondary schools to improve their facilities for technical training. Mombasa Technical Institute, with a total enrolment of 1,200 students including those combining further education with employment by part-time day or evening attendance, had been surveyed by a team of British experts to consider raising it to Polytechnic level.

Attendance at Kenya Polytechnic had increased by 25 per cent to a total of 2,500 students, the majority of courses being offered on a part-time basis to suitably-employed candidates. Courses were offered in such subjects as Electronics, Radio and Television technology and the course in Telecommunications Technology led to a full technology certificate.

Teacher Education

With the increased numbers of students in both primary and secondary schools seeking further education on completion of their normal courses, it was now possible for the authorities to be more selective in allocating places to prospective teacher trainees. Firstly, it became possible to select better-qualified students at all levels of training, and secondly, it was possible to allocate places in the teacher training colleges on a quota system which took into account the requirements of the candidate's home district. Allocation of places according to the number of children enrolled in schools ensured an equitable distribution of available facilities for training. In all, 825 P1 (School Certificate), 1,252 P2 (Kenya Junior Secondary) and 1,275 P3 (Kenya Preliminary Examination), trainees were accepted in 27 colleges, of which two trained secondary teachers.

Kenya Science Teachers College converted all spare buildings to workshops and ancilliary facilities to extend its activities to accommodate its full capacity of 356 students. Twenty per cent of its total output could expect to be recommended for further studies at the University of Nairobi. In addition to the regular courses vacation courses were held for 275 students in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, and a new course was offered in Commerce. In addition, the Bachelor of Education degree programme entered its second year
with 69 students. At Kenyatta College only 12 out of the total staff were Kenyans.

Kenya Institute of Education By 1970 the institute had completed a wide variety of curriculum materials for use at all levels of the educational system from the primary school to the teachers college. Prior to this time most of the textbooks and teaching materials had been based on the European system, and the purpose of the new materials was "... to reflect the country's social, economic, political and cultural aspirations" and "...to highlight the dignity of using hands as well as brains." In establishing these aims, adapting the educational system to meet them, and producing the materials by which they might be achieved, the Institute of Education had now fully recognised the function of education in the development of the nation. One of the means of dignifying the use of hands was to make an academic qualification the pre-requisite for entry to technical training, and to grant certificates on the successful completion of technical and trade courses. The desire of most African students to have some tangible and visible recognition of their years of education was thus fully recognised. The importance of science and agriculture to the future development of the country was shown in the emphasis on the production of new materials for the teaching of these subjects, and the introduction of a modified programme of science teaching in the primary schools and the revision of school textbooks to the metric system.

In the cultural field, the institute had developed school reading books in fourteen local languages. Work had also begun on the preparation of specifically Kenyan tests of achievement, aptitude, personality and diagnostic tests for all ages within the educational system.

By means of in-service and vacation courses the competence of many untrained teachers and primary school headmasters had been increased, and by the end of 1970 4500 untrained teachers had improved their status to that of trained teachers.

Schools Broadcasting  During 1970, 1,130 programmes had been broadcast in the educational service throughout the normal three terms of the school year and also during the vacations. Officially enrolled for the broadcast programmes were 3478 primary and 506 secondary schools, and other broadcasts were directed to teachers colleges. At the individual level, courses were provided for primary and secondary school teachers, primary school headmasters, and unqualified teachers.

Primary school programmes offered courses in language, both English and Swahili, stories, social studies and science. At the secondary level there were courses based on the texts selected for examinations and included readings and criticism. The broadcasts themselves were supported by visual aids for classroom use, and tape-recordings were also made available for later use. Both primary and secondary students were offered opportunities to participate in the broadcasts through question-answering services and discussion programmes. One of the Kenya Schools Broadcasting Service programmes achieved several awards in an international competition in Japan.
Through the "Adult Studies Classroom" which involved two and three-quarter hours of radio time per week and correspondence course work, more mature students were offered the opportunity of improving their education up to the level of the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination level. Together with the seventeen and a half hours of the other educational programmes this brought the total weekly time on Kenya radio to over twenty hours--more than three times the total in 1966.

The University of Nairobi  On July 1st 1970, the institution which had previously been one of the University Colleges of the University of East Africa was established as a separate entity, and in the same year acquired its first Kenyan Principal. A total of 1,713 Kenya students were enrolled in all Faculties of the University and of these 850 were registered in first year courses. There were also 208 Kenya students in attendance at the University of Dar-es-Salaam and 457 at Makerere. Thus, with an additional 4,331 students pursuing courses in countries overseas, a total of 6,709 students were involved in programmes of higher education.

During the year the Faculty of Agriculture was established, comprising five separate Departments, and the previous Departments of Education and Law became Faculties. Kenyatta College, with its 69 students in the B.Ed. degree programme, became the first college of the University.

In the year 1963/64 there had been a total of 376 students from Kenya enrolled in all three colleges of the University of East Africa
so a six-fold increase has been recorded in the seven years since Independence.

Diversity and Dignity

Of the many developments which have taken place in the educational field in Kenya since Independence, the most significant are those which have been designed to dignify the use of the hands. That manual labour had previously been regarded as undignified was not wholly a relic of colonial times, since in traditional society dignity was usually associated with age and wisdom. Manual labour was a constructive pursuit within the subsistence economy. It was also a necessary pursuit and could be done well or poorly—possibly even in a dignified manner—but the total concept could not be termed 'dignified'.

For the individual, dignity was a personal quality expressed more by the manner of approach to work than by the execution of the task itself. Thus, whilst tradition may not actually have dignified the use of the hands, at least there was no indignity attached to manual labour in any form. There can be little doubt that any suggestions of lack of dignity in the performance of manual labour may be attributed to the colonial attitude towards subject peoples.

Firstly there was the importation of what has been termed 'coolie' labour for work on the railway. The term 'coolie' carries its own connotation of 'unskilled' and particular suitability to native peoples in those parts of the world where climatic conditions impose too great a stress on the European constitution. To the observing tribesman, herder or warrior, there could be little dignity in this arduous work under the
supervision of higher-caste Asians and controlling Europeans. To the warrior this must have appeared as a foolish waste of man's energy, and to the agriculturalist it appeared too unproductive to be worthy of any consideration.

During the later years of colonial administration many other forms of manual labour also became stigmatised. African men took over the unaccustomed tasks of domestic servants in European households, and the menial cleaning duties in many Asian businesses. In such employment many Africans were not even accorded the normal dignity of human beings. No task was too heavy or too dirty to be given to African servants or labourers. Wages were low, and there were many unemployed Africans looking for jobs, so often subservience was part of the price to be paid for remaining in work. European-style education was the means of avoiding the menial tasks. It must be noted that this lack of dignity in manual labour is not a purely African phenomenon. In many western countries many mundane tasks must be 'dignified' by high-sounding titles or high rates of pay, and even the term 'working-class' becomes euphemised as 'blue-collar' to correlate with the non-manual 'white-collar' worker.

The new government has committed itself to the eradication of any stigmata attached to the many necessary manual tasks which must now be performed by Africans in an all-Kenyan society.

Thus, primary education, which has always been only the first qualifying step on the ladder of progress, and is already providing this opportunity for all who can afford it, has not been the subject of any
programmed development. At the end of the primary course, the KPE provides the opportunity for moving into the next higher level of education, and it was at this stage that facilities were lacking. Now, with the increased number of trade and secondary schools, many more primary students may continue with their education. It is significant that the government has encouraged the Self-help programme to extend secondary academic schools and reserved its own limited finances to extend the trade and technical institutions. Thus the manual categories have the blessing of official support and those Kenyans who wish to pursue an academic course must do so at increased cost to themselves. Academic qualifications— even quite modest ones—are required for entry to the trade schools, thus raising the status of manual courses, and this status is further recognised by the award of certificates on the successful completion of courses.

The dignity of manual labour is also recognised by the provision of instruction in specialised fields for those who have had no formal education, as exemplified by the support given by the Nordic countries for the improvement of farming and fishing skills.

At the higher levels of education the whole local scene has been given increased status and dignity by reclassification of the institutions themselves—Nairobi College to University status, Kenyatta College to University College status, and the technical schools at Nairobi and Mombasa to the status of Polytechics. The introduction of degree courses in Education and Domestic Science will also serve to upgrade professions which had previously been considered less desirable than more academic, if less constructive, general degrees in Arts, Science and Economics.
Even the extension of educational broadcasting may be considered to be part of the diversifying and dignifying process. Mature adults may increase their very limited academic abilities in the privacy of their own homes by means of literacy programmes, and also be made to feel that they are a real part of their developing nation. The rural areas are being enabled to maintain contact with the urban centres through this modern form of communication, with a corresponding gain in status. No longer are they out-of-touch with the world at large. No longer are they neglected by the authorities in Nairobi. They have been recognised and to be recognised is to be respected; to be respected is to be dignified.
CONCLUSION

General

It is difficult to evaluate the achievements of the people of Kenya in western terms.

As has already been pointed out in the text, certain terms must be re-interpreted in the local context. Just as anthropologists have attempted to arrive at an overall definition of 'tribe' with little success, this study has adopted Sutton's interpretation that "a tribe is a tribe because it feels like one". Other terms must be interpreted in a similar fashion. A school is a school because it operates like one, irrespective of its buildings, the qualification of its teachers, the inadequacy of its facilities, and the age-range and ambitions of its students. Education is education if it leads its practitioners in the paths they themselves wish to pursue to the ends they have chosen. Independence is independence if the people feel independent of former controls or oppression. Democracy is democracy if the people feel that they are in some way responsible—even in part—for the government and development of their own country. A nation is a nation because it feels like one.

This may appear to be taking the easy way out of a difficult situation, but the apparent errors of the past have been caused in just the same manner. Europeans—both missionaries and administrators—have assumed only one approach to the indigenous peoples. The European way is right. Local ways are not quite as rigid. Local words are
not so restricted in meaning. 'Huko' in Swahili means 'over there' 'huuko' means 'further away over there' and *huuuuko* means 'even further away' 'Kali' means sharp, bitter, angry, vicious and almost anything unpleasant from a 'kali' knife, a 'kali' fruit, to a 'kali' memsahib (a mistress who is difficult to please). The 'English' language as used by Africans has developed similar flexibility, with the result that many words have been applied to a general situation rather than to a specific context. Consequently, the outside observer must adopt the African interpretation if there is to be any form of meaningful communication.

These are, after all, legacies of the colonial period, and part of the ambiguity of the present situation. The process itself may be considered irreversible, that is that the innovation has been incorporated into the present way of life, but its function or meaning has become reversible by the African interpretation.

**Reversible Factors**

To the extent noted in the preceding paragraph, the present form of government in Kenya may be considered a reversible factor. It is democratic in that the people are given the opportunity to vote; it is democratic in that one man has one vote; it is democratic in that government policies are presented to the people for approval at periodic elections; but Kenya has become a one-party government in keeping with tribal tradition where there was no 'official' opposition to communal decisions.
The use of English as a medium of communication between peoples of a wide variety of local vernaculars is another colonial introduction which may be reversible by the nationalistic and independent people of Kenya. Through the efforts of the Ford Foundation and the 'English Medium' programme of instruction in the primary schools, improved methods of teaching were introduced which the present government intends to adopt. The language itself, however valuable as a means of internal and international communication, still retains connotations of colonialism and subservience, and will be replaced as soon as a satisfactory alternative can be found or developed.

It is also possible that the trend away from tribal custom may be reversible in the search for a national identity. While the extended family obligations have been regarded as a barrier to the progress of certain individuals, it is obvious that the government has no intention of replacing these personal commitments by Social Welfare schemes. Similarly, whilst some tribal rites of initiation have been condemned by the missions as 'uncivilised' and have been dropped from normal usage, their function in the structure of a stable society may well be continued in some modified form if social structure begins to disintegrate. There are sufficient examples available for study by the leaders of the new Kenya to make them aware of the pitfalls to be avoided in a headlong rush towards modernisation, westernisation, or 'civilisation'.

There is evidence too that the government does not intend to enforce 'progress' on all its peoples. In its emphasis on rural
development and the provision of small plots of land for previously landless people, it accepts the stability which accrues from association with the land. A subsistence economy, especially in connection with a saleable surplus, provides security for the individual. This security is lacking in many industrialised nations which have sacrificed the farm to the factory and the individual to the nation. Of course, these may be the signs and the cost of 'progress' but the government of Kenya does not appear determined to follow this path without caution. In its provision of permanent water facilities for the nomadic herdsmen of the northern areas, it is giving them the opportunity to settle down and develop their herds more economically. In opening up new fishing programmes on Lake Rudolph, it is providing the opportunity for the adoption of a new means of livelihood. In both areas, these opportunities are being offered, not enforced, and are being offered against the stable background of traditional life.

Thus, wholesale progress for all peoples is not being regarded as an irreversible process.

Fortunately, through the opportunities offered for education in a wide variety of countries outside their own homeland, many of Kenya's leaders and educators have been able to observe almost the full spectrum of modern societies. With their freedom from direct British control, the country's leaders conduct their affairs in the cities of the world, and are free to select from the aids which are now available to them. There appears to be little doubt that this
experience will be utilised in a selective manner to reverse any remnant of British influence which is not essential to the growth and development of the new nation.

It must be acknowledged at this point that in their leader, the people of Kenya have a man qualified by traditional standards. He has served his people as a fighter for their rights, he is a father, an elder and a statesman, a man of wisdom acquired through experience. Unfortunately, he is an old man, and even his leadership may prove to be reversible.

Irreversible Factors

There can be no doubt that formal education has become firmly established in modern Kenya. The statistics of progress in this field in the years of independence\(^1\) establish education as the major irreversible factor introduced by the colonial administration and the missions. Not only has the form of education been accpeted, but also its general aim of the pursuit of 'paper qualifications' in the secondary schools and university. The 'piece of paper' whether it be a certificate of achievement or merely a statement of attendance and opportunity, has assumed a position of supreme importance, and this is one factor which the government has been quick to employ. The introduction of Diplomas for previously negelected areas such as Domestic Science and Nursing for girls, trade certification and para-medical diplomas for men, can do much to encourage recruitment into the educational facilities available for training in these fields. Previously, the disgrace had been that of failure to gain admission to the limited institutions of

\(^1\) See Appendix, p.227-229
secondary and higher education. The individual felt that the failure lay in the system rather than in himself, and he could be somewhat mollified by the award of a certificate of failure or of attendance. Now that a variety of secondary facilities are available, many more primary school students can find some outlet for their qualifications and be guaranteed a certificate at the end of their course of study. In colonial times the elite had been the Europeans who did no visible manual work, and therefore such work was unattractive to Africans. Whatever its importance to the community at large, manual labour carried the stigma of low status. Now that the country is free, all important tasks are performed by Africans, and it is not too difficult to apply the corollary that all tasks performed by Africans are important to the nation.

Nevertheless, there still exists an identifiable elite based on educational qualification, but this is not really anomalous in traditional societies where the succession to positions of authority and respect, whilst available to all men, still depended on the luck of being initiated at the 'right' time. Some men, by their inherent wisdom, by their natural ability to produce sons, by their ability to keep and increase their herds, by their skill in selecting hard-working and fruitful wives, achieved the highest positions in their tribes. Little was gained by inheritance alone. Thus it may be argued that only the means of qualification have changed, and as long as the government makes all facilities available to all people, an elite is acceptable—even desirable.
This attitude is exemplified in the retention of the high-cost former European schools, where only the names have been reversible. These have been accepted as the most desirable form of secondary education for all students with the ability to benefit from it, even if the high fees have to be paid from government funds. Yet this attitude is to some extent characteristic of the people themselves. Money has never been plentiful for the majority of African families, yet parents have spent a large proportion of their total earnings on the education of their own and relatives' children. Children themselves have given up the opportunity to benefit from secondary education so that younger brothers and sisters might have some primary education. Communities are building their own schools, medical centres, and improving local facilities at their own expense, so that government funds may be spared for communities less fortunate. This may be what is meant by African Socialism, where each contributes to the welfare of the community according to his potential, and where an elite must arise because of its importance to the community as a whole.

It is doubtful if Co-operatives can truly be considered to be one of the factors of colonial influence. Co-operative labour has been an intrinsic part of traditional society. Yet it was under the guidance of colonial administrators, particularly in the agricultural field, that such societies were placed on an economic footing. In a nation of smallholders the co-operatives can solve many of the marketing problems of the small-scale producer, and it is significant that Kenya is seeking the advice of experts in this field. It is also further
evidence of the desire to learn from all available sources, and made possible by the government's policy of non-alignment. Perhaps it is fortunate that the nations offering this particular form of assistance--the Nordic group--are themselves comparatively small-scale specialised producers, and not imperialists. There could be no true independence for Kenya if economic imperialism replaced political imperialism.

End Notes

Traditional tribal societies developed by a process of adaptation to their immediate environment, and until the arrival of the Europeans change had come slowly. Societies had become stable before they faced the influences of the colonialists. Some responded to a variety of pressures and modified their ways of living within the colonial structure. Others resisted or avoided those pressures and retained more of their traditional ways of living. For all groups the environment has been expanded beyond their tribal boundaries by the adoption of a national identity, and expanded beyond their national boundaries by the commonality of their colouration to become African, and identifiable members of the whole continent. From being subservient members of the European imperial nations, subservient to other tribes in their own nations, they have become free and independent individuals and nations. This extended environment and expansion of society will bring additional complications and adjustments to be made to meet them.

Traditional education served the purpose of perpetuating society as it had evolved by instructing individuals in their
responsibilities and their privileges within their own society. Formal education as introduced by the missionaries and the colonialists has operated as a disruptive force, and has been largely responsible for the creation of the new societies which now exist. In general, the institutions of formal education are being retained, and the ends being directed in those directions which the government considers most desirable for the national good. There is a consciousness that the curriculum needs to be de-Europeanised, and already through its department of Curriculum Research the Ministry of Education in Kenya has sought to localise the content of many courses at all levels. Possibly further research will build up a composite picture of the nation of Kenya, its traditions, its history, its folklore and its heroes, its national identity. Then, possibly, the institutions of formal education may adopt the philosophy of traditional education and fit the children and young people to assume their places in the new society.

This, of course, may be asking the reversing of the irreversible.
### Education for Development: Comparative Figures 1963/1970

#### PRIMARY EDUCATION:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools (Maintained)</td>
<td>5,906</td>
<td>6,123</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (Unassisted)</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,058</td>
<td>6,123</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students - Boys</td>
<td>586,724</td>
<td>836,307</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>304,829</td>
<td>591,282</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average school size</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers - Trained</td>
<td>17,193</td>
<td>32,929</td>
<td>91.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrained</td>
<td>5,579</td>
<td>8,550</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio - Teacher/Students</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SECONDARY EDUCATION:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1963</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools (Maintained)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>165%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (Unassisted)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>1500%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>420%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students - Boys</td>
<td>20,553</td>
<td>81,936</td>
<td>277%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>9,567</td>
<td>31,114</td>
<td>216%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average school size</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (Maintained)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (Unassisted)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers - Trained</td>
<td>1,602</td>
<td>2,868</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Maintained)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>497%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Unassisted)</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio - Teacher/Students</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>(M&amp;A) 18.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(U/A) 22.2</td>
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#### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
<th>Makerere</th>
<th>Dar-es-Salaam</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>2045</td>
<td>491%</td>
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#### Ratio:

- Univ./Sec./Prim. 1/87/2576 1/55.3/699
- Sec./Prim. 1/297 1/126
### TEACHERS IN TRAINING:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>Increase</th>
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<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>3200%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>2063%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>170%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td>441%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>500%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3/P4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2276</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>-56.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NOTE:

The tremendous increase in the numbers of S1 teachers in training reflects the emphasis on secondary education, both in provision for future requirements and also in providing employment for secondary school graduates who have not qualified for university. The rapid increase in the number of P2 teachers in training also reflects the increase in availability of secondary school places and the opportunity to enter the teaching profession after satisfactory completion of two years of secondary education (KJSE).
**Kenya Students enrolled at the Universities of East Africa:**

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Agriculture</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Agriculture)</td>
<td>40</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Architecture and Design</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A. Architecture</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. Building Economics</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. Land Economics</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. Design</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. Fine Art</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma Fine Art (Design)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma Fine Art (Fine Art)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Arts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>588</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.Phil. (Econ.)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Faculty of Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Home Economics)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma Dom. Science</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma Education</td>
<td>21</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Commerce</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.Comm.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Engineering</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Engineering)</td>
<td>167</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Law</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LL.B.</td>
<td>55</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Medicine</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Advanced Nursing</td>
<td>13</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Science</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty of Veterinary Science</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Veterinary Science</td>
<td>66</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School of Journalism</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Journalism</td>
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</table>

**TOTAL 1713**
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A. (Education)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Education)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>208</strong></td>
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MAKERERE UNIVERSITY:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Degree</th>
<th>Students</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>134</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Education</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Forestry)</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. (Agriculture)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma (in Fine Art)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma in Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>457</strong></td>
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